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THE WAY OF THE WORLD

FOR WHAT WILL BRITAIN FIGHT?

by VERNON BARTLETT

MANY of us talk a great deal about "collective security" and most of us mean nothing by all our talk. But until people in every country have faced up to the sacrifices of prestige and possessions involved in those two words there is no more hope of lasting peace and a reduction of armaments than there is that the sale of this Review will exceed that of the *Daily Mail* or the *Daily Express*. There is a widespread—and idiotic—idea that international security need involve no loss of national sovereignty and that peace can be obtained by prattling about it, although there is no obvious reason why something so much more desirable than war should be won without sacrifices at least as great.

For what is Britain prepared to fight? "Until we have made up our minds about that" said Lord Lothian the other day in the House of Lords, "there will be uncertainty in our policy, uncertainty in Europe as to our policy and what contribution we can make to the stability of Europe, and uncertainty in the League as to what it can rely upon . . . There should be a peace ballot to ask people what they are prepared to fight for. Until we know that we are bound to go on with the wobbling policy for which the National Government and other governments are being criticised."

It is certainly true that, since the beginning of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, public opinion has influenced foreign affairs as at no other time since 1919. In the case of the Hoare-Laval plan it achieved the most astonishing victory of new ideas over old ones; its reaction to the German reoccupation of the Rhineland was possibly equally sound although its refusal to take the unilateral destruction of an important treaty very seriously has savoured far too much of the old

isolationist fear to accept responsibilities for the development of peace. But in any case this increased public interest in international affairs does make it all the more essential that Mr. Anthony Eden should know, in the months of intricate and dangerous negotiation that lie ahead, to what extent he can still depend upon that enthusiasm for the idea of collective security which has given him an influence almost unparalleled in British political history.

For what will Britain fight? Some months ago she was prepared to risk war against Italy in defence of a principle. It was not Mussolini's threats that he would look upon further sanctions as a hostile act which prevented their enforcement, but the unwillingness of the French to follow the British lead and of certain British ministers to realise how far public opinion wanted that lead to go. The British man in the street did not stop to reflect that the Duce's threats were mainly bluff because the closing of the Suez Canal would at once have cut off a quarter of a million of his soldiers from all sources of supply. In certain circumstances, then, Britain will fight in a dispute outside Europe in defence of a weak and backward country against a strong country whose cooperation she badly needs.

But she was not prepared to risk war against Germany to keep German troops out of German territory, although the obligation to do so seemed fairly clear in the Locarno Treaty. She did not stop to argue that sanctions were only authorised in the League Covenant in the event of an actual resort to war, and that, in consequence, a Locarno obligation which appeared to go beyond the Covenant could be looked upon as null and void. Her reaction was emotional, not logical. Her sense of fair play which had put her on the side of the Abyssinians now put her on the side of the Germans. Nobody will ever persuade a British audience that it is in the interests of peace that France should fortify her frontier and Germany should not be permitted to do so. That may be unfortunate, since a line of defence in the west would make it easier for Germany to turn her armies to the east or the south, but it is an unavoidable fact.

And suppose the German armies do march to the east or the south, would Britain fight? For Memel? The Lithuanians have done so little in their history to win sympathy that they have probably answered that question for themselves. For the Polish Corridor? That problem is not likely to arise at any rate for years to come, for Poland and

Germany cannot afford to quarrel and Germans are reconciling themselves to the idea that the Corridor is Polish territory. For Czechoslovakia or Austria? Perhaps, but only on one condition—that Germany again becomes a member of the League.

Peace is Indivisible

Peace, as the Russians rightly insist, is indivisible. In a world so complex as is the world today it is almost incredible that a *cordon sanitaire* could be built around any two fighting nations in Europe. More and more the British public is coming to realise that an aggression against one is an aggression against all, but it will not take the necessary risks to meet that fact while there is still the least suspicion that any great powerful nation is kept on a footing of inferiority. It would consider isolation to be the lesser danger. No people so accustomed to compromise as the British will be persuaded into the belief that a policy of encirclement or alliances in order to perpetuate an injustice can be wise or successful. Not until Herr Hitler again sends delegates to Geneva, and thus implicitly recognises that inequality has been abolished, will Mr. Eden be able to convince the House of Commons that a threat to peace in any part of Europe has become a threat to Great Britain.

It is for that reason that the French and, still more, the Russians are foolish to place obstacles in the way of a German return to the League. The wave of British public opinion against Anglo-Franco-Belgian staff talks is the clearest warning that a demand for alliances is only playing into the hands of the isolationists in Great Britain, and the people of this country will certainly refuse to fight anywhere beyond the Rhine unless they can be convinced that defence of the League Covenant is synonymous with self-defence. If the French and the Russians were wise they would now be pressing as hard as they could for stronger sanctions against Italy in order to prove to the British how effective an instrument of collective defence that Covenant can be. But wisdom, in dealing with the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, has been almost as conspicuously absent as courage. If I were to write frankly what I thought about the hesitations and compromises of the last few months, my readers would dissolve into tears and our subscribers would dissolve into thin air.

And there is not much time to lose. Hitler's offer to bring his country back into the League was so unpopular in Germany, where years of hostile propaganda have brought that organisation into complete contempt, that one doubts whether he really wants his representative to sit at the same Council table as the representative of the Soviets. Just because his offer may have been no more than a tactical move to split Great Britain and France it is so vitally important to accept it. For if Hitler is bluffing, the sooner his bluff is called, the sooner the British will decide what they would fight for. Every week of haggling over Germany's duty to apologise for tearing up the Locarno Treaty increases the danger that the Austrian crisis will come to a head while there are still no relations between Berlin and Geneva and before the British have made up their minds whether they would run any risks to protect the independence of Austria.

Nazis' Changed Tactics

Nazi tactics in that country have changed. There is now little danger of a Putsch with violence. Members of the Austrian Legion who had taken refuge in Germany are being sent back to their native land not with weapons in their hands but with certificates to state that they are humble and harmless artisans who are returning home because they can no longer find employment in Germany. They may be expected to start a campaign from within in favour of a plebiscite, and the pro-Italian policy of the Schuschnigg-Stahremberg government has made it so desperately unpopular that it dare not face the electors. In such circumstances a change of government, even one which put the Nazis in power, might easily be construed in Great Britain as a victory for democracy. It would be dangerous to imagine that Great Britain would consider it as a *casus belli.*

There is an important conflict of opinion in Germany over the future of Austria, and nothing will do more to solve it in a reasonable way than the knowledge that, in certain circumstances, British finance, if not British arms, would oppose Nazi ambitions. Were it not for hysterical national pride, the Germans would certainly want Austria to remain independent. They need to develop their influence in south-eastern Europe. They might try to do so by war, in which case they would have against them all the influence of France, Russia, the Little Entente, Italy, and, possibly, Great Britain. They might

do so by peaceful means, in which case they must see to it that Vienna again becomes the clearing-house for the whole of that part of Europe. The very fact that they speak the same language as the Austrians gives them an inestimable advantage over all possible rivals along the Danube and in the Balkans, but it is an advantage which would disappear if there were an *Anschluss* that made Vienna subservient to Berlin as Munich or Dresden are subservient. Germany can penetrate peacefully to the Mediterranean if Austria is her friend and agent; she can never do so with Austria as a discontented vassal and an object of suspicion to all her other neighbours.

If Great Britain is ever to play a part worthy of her power she must be prepared to meet bluff by bluff. Dictatorships will flourish as long as democracies meet their threats by submissions. Japan could never have resisted an economic boycott in 1932, for her whole system depends upon her ability to export cheap goods in the greatest possible number of markets. Italy could no more have stood against the closing of the Suez Canal in 1935 than clouds can stand against a gale. Germany has so many more enemies now than in 1914 that she would collapse at the first demonstration of coordinated resistance to her demands. But it is useless to bluff if your opponent knows you are bluffing. Are we prepared to pay the price if our bluff should fail, confident that the more prepared we are the less likelihood there will be of failure? Doubts about our reply have enabled Signor Mussolini to defy the League and to defeat Abyssinia. While they persist, peace in Europe cannot be more than a soothing but deceptive phrase.

Risks for Peace

Would Britain fight to retain her mandates? Possibly, and the existence of that possibility robs her of any right to lecture other countries on their unwillingness to take risks for peace, for she has clearly much less claim to the control of those mandated areas than Czechoslovakia, for example, has to the maintenance of her independence. The outcry in the House of Commons over the mere suggestion that mandates might ever be transferred shows how little the British public has yet decided to support collective principles rather than national gain. The transfer of these territories may not be advisable and would certainly be very complicated, since the Dominions would be involved, but righteous indignation whenever it is discussed is

inspired by the spirit of unrighteousness. A country which has, by one means or another, acquired such an immense list of possessions and protectorates is in no position to reproach others for a thirst for colonies.

What it all comes down to is this. We are still hesitating between law and anarchy. We have not yet honestly accepted the principle of the Briand-Kellogg pact that war is to be ruled out as an instrument of national policy. We may not want to go to war ourselves, for we have already acquired all we need, but we are not yet sufficiently indignant if another country proposes to go to war. The United States turns her back and pretends not to see what is going on. Britain protests more or less mildly on my-dear-chap-you-can't-do-that lines. And there is not very much hope for peace until two nations who have such an obvious interest in maintaining it to stop talking about limiting war to certain areas or taking mild measures to render it more difficult, and make it plain they will act as drastically as possible to stop it, whatever its cause and wherever it occurs.

We cannot influence the policy of the United States—except by example. We cannot, by putting the blame on Paris politicans or timid "neutrals," wipe out our failure to risk as much in defence of the League idea as we should do if the Italians had bombarded a remote British island or sunk a British fishing vessel. Mr. Anthony Eden has done more than any other statesman during the last year to take the gain out of aggression, but he has not done enough. He must discover, and proclaim to the world, what Britain will fight for; and if she will not fight for principles of liberty, decency and justice, at least as readily as any other nation will fight for conquest or national pride, then he and we will have failed, and tyranny will once more have won.

THE BRUTES

"*Oui, Monsieur,* the Germans always *were* brutal. They brutally allowed the Treaty of Versailles to be dictated to them; thereupon they brutally destroyed their whole navy, and in fact, all means of defence, they disarmed brutally and paid reparations brutally, they stood brutally by and watched the occupation of the Ruhr and equally brutally looked on at the harmless fun of the black troops of the glorious French Army; and for a decade and a half they showed unexampled brutality in the fulfilment of every sort of demand that benevolent and incredibly goodnatured France made of them."—*Brennessel, Munich.*

THE OPEN FORUM

ROOSEVELT'S BATTLE

"Constitution-Sobbers"

by NEGLEY FARSON

In this section we publish articles by men of international fame. We do not necessarily share their opinions, which we encourage them to state as frankly as they can. For the next six months the United States will be caught up in the presidential election campaign. Mr. Negley Farson, whose autobiography, "The Way of a Transgressor," has already sold over 100,000 copies in England and America, has just returned from a five months' inquisitive tour around his native country after five years as an American newspaper correspondent in London. During his tour he spent much of this time among the farmers and factory workers, as well as with the employers, financiers and professional politicians. This is his capsule criticism of the situation

THE outstanding feature of the American situation up to date has been the failure of the Republican Party to produce either a Man or a programme able to accept Roosevelt's moral challenge. Arising automatically from this failure is the childish fury and reactionism of the Republican political attack. Resultant of these two factors is a national bewilderment and what, I think, is perhaps the most significant development in the United States. This is a quite recognisable desire for *belief*—the common people of the United States today want something to believe in, some Cause that will arouse and hold their imagination, more than they want anything else.

In the meantime, as Casey said in *Juno and the Paycock*, the United

States is in a " state of chassis."

There is no need to point out here the chaos resulting from the Supreme Court's invalidation of one after another of Roosevelt's alphabetical reconstruction schemes. When AAA, the agricultural restriction programme, was in operation the farmer was happy because his prices had gone up, but the workers were miserable because, although the cost of living had risen, their wages had not. Conversely, when AAA was declared illegal the farmers were miserable. The Packers saw to that, as they made the farmer take the cut that appeared in the morning's newspaper market quotations. If the worker wasn't made equivalently happy that was because there are so many middle-men between the pig and the pork chop in the corner butcher shop; a fact of significance, by the way, because one of the factors that have blurred the edges of Roosevelt's agricultural restriction schemes, has been the ability of the middle-men—and the Packers—to add their own increase in profit to the increase of price that has resulted from restriction. And they seem to manage to hang on to this added increment no matter which way the scheme goes. Once add something like the processing tax to the cost of any article and you have opened the gates wide for each middle-man after that to add something of his own on top of his usual profit as what he thinks is *his* legitimate bonus for engaging in the transaction. For example, when ordinary salt pork—the food of poor white workers and negroes—rose to more than that of fresh chicken, the Packers said this was due to the Government's pork processing tax. Whereas any mathematical calculation will show that the processing tax amounted to less than one-eighth the actual rise in price.

But these are technical and tiresome details. Such conduct will be carried on under any American Administration. And they are not, bad as they are, of foremost importance.

The thing that is so astounding in the U.S. today is, as I have said, the failure of the Republican Party to produce either the man or the programme to accept Roosevelt's moral challenge—and the childish, almost impotent fury of the Republican attack. And of these two I think the fury is the worst because it appeals to certain characteristic weaknesses in American life. By these I mean the average American's uncritical attitude toward the political party he is supporting, his tolerance towards corruption and crime, and especially his suscep-

tibility to phrases and catch-words such as "rugged individualism," "government interference" and the "American Constitution"—because "the American Constitution" is now nothing but a phrase everywhere in America except in the Supreme Court. The "sound and the fury" of the Republican Party is dangerous, I say, because the Republican politician's *faut de mieux* are counting upon these catch-word phrases instead of a constructive political programme to put Roosevelt out of office at the November elections.

That is bad because, (*a*) if catch-words seem to work there will be no need for the Republican Party to find a substitute for Roosevelt's nation-wide reconstruction schemes; (*b*) if no substitute is found or thought necessary the Republicans, if they get into office, will very likely obey these catch-words and go in for a reactionary reversion of Roosevelt's national cooperation; (*c*) the nation as a whole will have advanced not a step in its political sophistication.

I say this in all seriousness because one of my most recurrent shocks in the United States was to find that most of the Republicans believe in these slogans themselves. The "Constitution-Sobbers," as they have now come to be called, are thoroughly terrifying. One of them in particular was terrifying to me because he actually happens to be a candidate for the American Presidency himself. At the present moment he is a Republican Senator. Said he to me:

"Above everything else we must protect and save the American Constitution. If that goes everything, anything, might creep in. Bolshevism. The Constitution is our only safeguard against that. The Constitution reaches down through every strata of American life to protect even the humblest American citizen."

Of what price Constitution, I asked, when it was notorious that every big industry maintained lobbyists in Washington to corrupt our Senators—and very successfully, as recent investigations have shown. Of what protection, when great Trusts are allowed to steal America's great natural resources—such as the Tea Pot Dome scandal under the Harding Administration. What does it mean to the average American citizen, this talk of protection, when the inhabitant of every city knows that its judges are elected to office by political vote, and therefore forced to be corrupt. I then asked him specifically to name a single protection afforded the American citizen by the American Constitution that was not possessed, at least theoretically, by the

citizen or subject of any first class nation. He could not name one.

I wish I could, but I cannot say honestly that the average American worker, particularly the farmer, would disagree with that "Constitution-Sobber." If you tell the average American farmer—even one that is being benefited by Roosevelt's reconstruction schemes—that Roosevelt is violating the American Constitution, the farmer will try to prove to you that he is not. He won't say, "I don't give a damn if he is." That's farcical, but it's also a fact. And the farmer will be very much worried at election time. Because the farmers have been told for so long that they are "the backbone of the American nation" they have come to believe they are the custodians of its morals as well.

The factory workers are a bit more realistic. But each worker aspiring one day to own a shop or factory similar to the one in which he is employed, finds the phrase "rugged individualism" has a seductive appeal. If he is bright enough and tough enough, he might rise to any height. In such a mood he is all for the freedom of the individual—as guaranteed by the Constitution. And in such a mood it merely confuses him when you point out that under N.R.A.—recently declared unconstitutional—Section 7-A guaranteed him the right to collective bargaining with his employer, a right which the English worker has had for nearly fifty years. Yet, fighting for Section 7-A, American workers were killed from coast to coast in America in the summer of 1934.

Too, the average American still has a sublime faith in his vote, and he will argue violently—particularly at the moment—why he is a Republican or why a Democrat. His party is honest, the others are all crooks. Yet if you point out to him that the Tammany machine runs the city of New York, that the Vare machine runs Philadelphia, one Democrat, the other Republican—and that they are both as crooked as hell—he will tell you that you are not a 100 per cent. American.

It is small wonder that the average American citizen is worrying about his future, or, if he thinks about it at all, in what direction America is going. But one and all, high or low, there is a sneaking feeling in the hearts of most of my countrymen that they would like to have Someone, Something in which to believe. They may not know that they want it; so let's say they just *need* it—and they need it more than they need anything else.

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by "ULYSSES"

(*Our Geneva Correspondent*)

FEW would deny that the last month has been the most critical through which the League has yet passed, and as I write the situation continues unchanged. The struggle between Democracy and Fascism is entering its last and most acute stage. The question asked here is : Can what remains of the former system survive, not at the good will of the latter, but because it is the stronger of the two ? It has come to that, and the issues, long clear to anyone who has thought about them at all, are at last clear to the man in the street--usually a more sensible person that his representatives. There it is. Can the Covenant secure the peace of the world or is it only another Sermon on the Mount, with the added disadvantage of having been preached not by Christ but by President Wilson ?

To understand the reasons why the world is in its present pass it is necessary, I think, to glance rapidly at the events of the last sixteen years, however elementary an exercise that may seem. A number of general principles, which have been the acknowledged private law of civilised countries for centuries, were in 1919 introduced into international law and subscribed to by the great majority of nations. The novelty of the Covenant lay not in the principles of which it was composed but in the fact that they were to be applied voluntarily by all nations who accepted it. The idea was sublime, the execution of it was deplorable ; for in order to secure its existence as a unique international instrument it was tacked on to the Treaty of Versailles which contained the savage terms imposed by victors on vanquished.

That was the first mistake.

The Covenant, which would be hard enough to apply in a comparatively reasonable world, had to be applied in one in which all reason had been destroyed by four years of scientific warfare. No wonder Clemenceau said, " I love the League, but I do not believe in it." The Covenant worked only so long as Germany was excluded from the League, that was to say only as long as none of its principles clashed with a national interest. Then, in 1923, Germany began to lift her head. Her first action was to default on reparation payments.

The French retaliated by marching into the Ruhr. The British Government did nothing to stop them.

That was the second mistake.

Then a sincere effort was made and M. Herriot and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, to their lasting credit, produced the Geneva Protocol of 1924. Those were feverish days, with the League Assembly's legal committee sitting until one and two in the morning working at a definition of the aggressor (the country which refuses arbitration) which seemed even at the time to be much too like commonsense to be acceptable. The Protocol was rejected next year and the responsibility for its rejection must lie primarily with the British Government. The impression on the Assembly when Sir Austen Chamberlain gave the British reasons for refusing to ratify it is not easily forgotten. He was listened to in cold silence and I remember hearing a Czech say afterwards with resigned bitterness, "When will Britain realise that she is no longer an island?"

That was the third mistake.

Sir Austen preferred Locarno. It was hailed as the final contribution to world peace. Yet it was a dead letter from the start. It settled nothing. The French never had any real faith in it. They did not, because of its existence, disarm by so much as a man or a gun. The Germans soon regarded it with greater hatred than they did the Treaty of Versailles because it had been freely negotiated. They felt more and more deceived by Stresemann's crowning achievement as no change occurred in the attitude of France towards them. The Protocol might have succeeded because it was universal. Failure to fulfil the provisions of Locarno killed democracy in Germany.

That was the fourth mistake.

After this, the mistakes came crowding thick and fast. The fifth and greatest was the failure to deal with Japanese aggression in 1932, thus gravely endangering the chances of the Disarmament Conference. The sixth was the refusal of the French to give real equality to Germany and the British connivance at that refusal which was the direct cause of Germany's departure from the League. "Will the line stretch out till the crack of doom?" Let this enumeration suffice for the moment, though the French determination not to apply effective sanctions to Italy six months ago must be added to the list.

Before, however, discussing the Italo-Abyssinian situation or even

Herr Hitler's new proposals for peace, I should like, at the risk of repeating what I have said in earlier notes, to emphasise that the real heart of the problem of world peace lies not in the smiling vineyards of the Rhineland or on the tortured uplands of Abyssinia, but in the wastes of Mongolia beyond the Great Wall. Japan is the real danger though she may not be the immediate one. Look for a moment at her population figures.

In 1930, the 1,080 islands composing the Empire of Japan contained a population of 64 millions; in 1935 that figure had risen to 69 millions; to that you must add 23 millions for Korea, well over 5 millions for Formosa, and 2 millions for the Leased Territory of Kwantung. The total is therefore getting on for 99 millions, and is probably now 100 millions. In Japan proper there are 180 inhabitants per square kilometre and in Tokyo itself this number is 2,600. What is going to happen? How long will they be content to remain there, or rather how long will it take them to realise that the Manchukuo experiment does not satisfy their needs?

Compared with such expansion as this the increase in the Italian birthrate is hardly worth bothering about. How soon Japan, where a bloody and successful revolution has planted the hotheads of the army and navy more firmly in power, will move again depends largely on what happens in Europe. There are daily skirmishes and the fire of war flickers up and down the new frontier of Manchukuo. Shall we stop them by setting the European house in order or are we to wait hopefully for the fantastic expenditure of their war machine to ruin them while we get on with our own quarrels?

From 1932 to 1935 the Japanese army and navy were financed by means of loans amounting to 2,450 million yen. This year the late Mr. Takahashi had made provision for a loan of 700 millions and his proposal to reduce the ordinary budgetary expenditure on the army by a paltry 20 millions cost him his life. Despite all these enormous sums spent on something purely unproductive, the cover for notes is still 34 per cent., or 4 per cent. above the legal limit. But—and this is a very significant point—state and municipal loans are taken up for the most part by insurance companies, private banks and savings banks. From January 1, 1929, to December 31, 1934, private deposits increased by only 690 million yen, while state and municipal loans increased by the huge figure of 1,145 millions.

Perhaps, therefore, such mad expenditure will save us. But, apart from any other considerations such as right or justice, is it not the height of folly to encourage these super-Mussolinis by squabbling—to use no stronger word—among ourselves ?

The real tragedy of the present situation in Europe is that even when sanctions were being applied in slow time they were on the brink of success. Three months ago there was a very general feeling in Geneva that the League was on the threshold of a great event comparable only to the crowning of Charlemagne or the discovery of America. Peace, not a patched-up, rickety creature, but full-blooded, vigorous, young, was about to come out of the hideous darkness of international politics into the light of a world made fit to receive her because it had worked for once wholeheartedly for that end. The nations had used the League machine and were about to drive it at full pressure. Then came the fatal Hoare-Laval plan and the damage was done. Can anyone believe that, had the League been used to its fullest extent, as it was about to be used, Herr Hitler would have moved ?

Now he has been let off and has produced peace terms of a new and striking kind. It is too early to say what the reaction to them of the rest of Europe will be. At least, however, it is a sign of grace that he has produced them, though any terms which do not embrace the U.S.S.R. are doomed from the start.

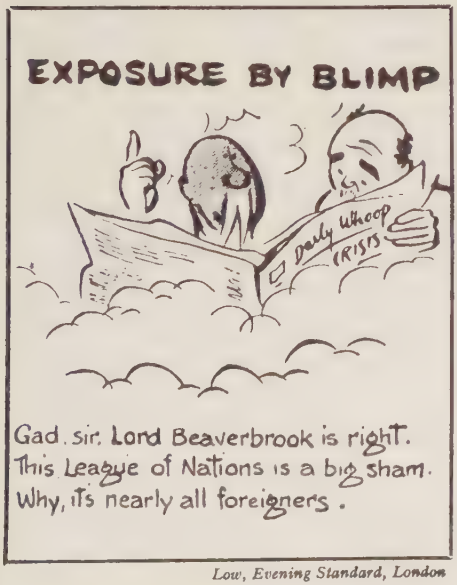
There would seem to be but one way to follow at this present critical juncture. The League machine must be made to work before it rusts or falls to pieces. It is in action against Italy and it must continue at an accelerated pace. The immediate result of a really strong line against Italy will be to give Germany pause. The more distant result will be to give the world peace. There are fortunately many signs that in England this is realised at last and that after sixteen years, of contempt or lip service, the League is coming into its own. Mr. Eden's speech in the House has made a profound impression on the Continent. We must have the courage to say that Locarno was not enough, we must have the courage—and when I say "we" I mean not England only but also France—to trust Germany to the extent of getting her back to the League. This we can only do if at long last we seriously put into operation the provisions of that neglected Article 19 of the Covenant, by which treaties that are obsolete can be revised. There is no such thing as the sanctity of treaties, because the object

of a treaty is static and yet the world goes on. In the old days when the world had moved sufficiently far away from the conditions stabilised by a treaty, war was used to tear up that treaty and make a new one which was, in its turn, torn up by another war. Now we have found that there is undoubtedly a better way, if only we will use it. Proper, reasonable concessions must, therefore, be made to Germany but—and this is a vital point—she must, at the same time, be shown that if she is not satisfied with those conditions and refuses to abide by them, the whole weight of the collective system will fall upon her. We can best show Germany that by applying it ruthlessly to Italy.

Nor will this be difficult. There is much talk especially in the press of the Right about sweeping Italian victories, but it is significant that these occur only when Italy desires to impress the Council or the Committee of Thirteen with her might. Moreover, the rains are approaching and little provision has been made for those dry houses either of wood or stone indispensable for health.

The League can still show the world that a nation carrying on a savage and barbarous war, with means and by methods which would have appalled Attila, will bring upon itself only misery and death.

Europe has in fact to choose between the diplomacy of arms and the arms of diplomacy.



Low, Evening Standard, London

"It's a good thing Hitler isn't ready because, as a matter of fact, I'm not either."

Le Canard Enchaine, Paris

THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

ITALY AND HER WAR

BRITAIN'S STAKE IN ABYSSINIA

by WILLIAM L. LANGER

From "Foreign Affairs," New York

THE heavy silt-laden water which has made possible the cultivation of Egypt for thousands of years, is almost exclusively the contribution of the Blue Nile, which collects it from countless streams in the Ethiopian mountains. It has been estimated that five-sixths of all the water of the Blue Nile enters that river between its outlet at Lake Tana and its crossing of the frontier into the Sudan. In that region the river flows through a tremendous canyon which has never yet been explored by white men, but which is known to drain a very large mountain area. Engineers agree that nothing man can do could in any way check this torrential flow. Egypt's supply of autumn water and fertilising silt is, in all human probability, completely safe.

The modern problem of Egyptian water, however, arose with the introduction of perennial cultivation. The second crop, which is mainly cotton, requires water during the spring months, when the discharge of the Nile is slight. Cotton has now become the crop on which Egypt depends for her existence. The population has risen from about 7,000,000 in 1882 to more than 14,000,000 in 1927, and is increasing at the rate of about 300,000 annually. The conversion of all the available land has therefore become more and more imperative.

Ever since the investigations of Sir William Garstin and his associate, Mr. Dupuis, it has been taken for granted that ultimately a dam would have to be built on the Upper Blue Nile, preferably at its outlet from Lake Tana, to supplement the water supply of Egypt. The introduction of irrigated cotton culture in the Gezira of the Sudan in 1904 has made this desirable also from the Sudanese standpoint.

The scheme has been held up by the difficulty of getting the Ethiopian Government to agree . . .

The situation as it presents itself now is briefly this. Between March 1 and August 1 of each year Egypt requires about fourteen and a half billion cubic metres of water for the cotton, sugar, rice and other crops. The average flow for the years 1912-27 was ten and a half billions. The Aswan Dam, after the second raising, will hold about five billions and the new Gebel Aulia Dam another three to four billions. Egypt will therefore have much more than she needs when the Gebel Aulia Dam is finished, but if she is to develop the land to the limit, as she must, she will need about twenty-six billion cubic metres of summer water, and this would have to come from other projects, namely from an Upper Blue Nile Dam and from a dam at the outlet of Lake Albert. The Lake Albert reservoir, if the level were raised by only one metre, would store five billions of cubic metres, but it would do little good unless the course of the Bahr-el-Gebel were cut deeper and regulated, so that the stream could no longer lose itself in the swamps. This will eventually have to be done, but it will be an extremely costly enterprise.

The Tana Dam, on the other hand, would not be expensive, and would have the added advantage of serving the Sudan as well as Egypt. It is thought that fully three million acres could be put under cultivation in the Sudan, if only there were water; in any event cotton now constitutes sixty per cent. of the exports of the Sudan and is a factor of considerable interest to Lancashire.

Since for more than thirty years the Tana Dam has been an integral part in the projected development of the summer water supply of Egypt and the Sudan, we need not wonder that it should have become the key to British policy in Ethiopia . . . The present Ethiopian crisis, as it developed in the spring of 1935, apparently served to hasten the reopening of the subject. On May 10 the Emperor invited the British, Egyptian and Sudan Governments to send delegates to a new conference at Addis Ababa, but the London Cabinet, anxious not to aggravate the dispute with Italy, replied that it favoured postponement. Nevertheless, the Egyptian Government on May 22 adopted a five-year plan of irrigation work at an outlay of £21,000,000, of which three million were set aside for the Tana Dam. At the same time negotiations between the Egyptian and Sudan

Governments were opened with a view to settling the details so that all might be clear for the final arrangements with the Ethiopian Emperor as soon as the international situation permitted . . .

In the earlier days of the crisis the Italian press, and presumably the Government, made much of its claims under the 1906 treaty and under the Anglo-Italian exchange of notes of December, 1925. It was evidently on the basis of these obligations that Mr. Eden tried to negotiate in Rome in June, 1935. But as a matter of fact London can easily evade these earlier arrangements. They are incompatible with the League Covenant in so far as Italy may try to stretch them till they affect the independence and integrity of Ethiopia. Furthermore, as things now stand, England is not securing the concession for the Tana Dam, and therefore is under no obligation to assist Italy to realise her share of the bargain. The Dam is going to be built, but officially it is to be constructed for the Ethiopian Government by an American engineering firm, even though the Egyptian Government will supply Addis Ababa with the necessary funds. The Sudan Government may, to all intents and purposes, be under the control of Britain ; but the Sudan Government will merely buy water when the dam is completed.

There have been oft-reiterated statements in Italy that Britain need not fear for her interests or for Lake Tana, and that Italy is fully prepared to guarantee those interests. It makes it by no means impossible that before the crisis is over Britain, guided by France, will strike a bargain with Mussolini. If England does eventually yield to temptation and allow her imperialism to get the better of her internationalism, we may be sure at least of this, that the Lake Tana region will remain outside the Italian sphere.

'TWAS A FAMOUS VICTORY

From "Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan

THE Imperial armies are fleeing headlong. After the defeat of the armies of the Rases, the army of the Negus is abandoning the field, in spite of its Europeanisation and its up to date mechanised armament. The first army corps, led by General Santini, is harrying the Imperial army without quarter. The Alpine and Sabauda divisions are pressing

southwards. Troops and legionaries are inspired with irresistible impetuosity. Our incomparable pilots, flying fearlessly over a sea of barbaric mountains with no possibility of safe landing, mow down the enemy in his flight. It is the collapse of the final Abyssinian resistance, the collapse of the last Abyssinian hope. After six months of hard preparation and brilliant operations, the Italian army of East Africa wins its deserved triumph.

For students of the art of war, the Abyssinian campaign will appear as the crowning achievement of arduous technique. By the vastness of its proportions, it excels previous colonial enterprises of all nations in all times . . . British colonial history has the glory of Kitchener. France remembers the glory of Bugeaud in Algeria, of Lyautey and Pétain in Morocco. The new Italy does not belittle this glory, and, having surpassed it, can value with legitimate pride her new titles to colonial primacy.

The adventure was, and is, the adventure of the people. The admirable spiritual unity of the nation with its head has offered Europe and the world an incomparable spectacle. Fourteen years of Fascism have created a new Italy, hard and decisive. This new Italy wants justice in Europe, but intends to defend its rights with the utmost firmness and participate in the honour of colonisation.

ABANDON SANCTIONS—A BELGIAN VIEW

From the "L'Indépendance Belge," Brussels (the leading Liberal Daily)

ITALY does not appear to have secured the part she deserves in the negotiations between "Locarnists" and between the latter and Germany.

Obviously the fault lies with the delay in the settlement of the sanctions problem. We have reasons for stating that very definite assurances were given to Rome on that point, but that it was found necessary to treat certain personalities connected with the League of Nations with some consideration. The Committee of Thirteen dragged on instead of tackling the principle of Italo-Abyssinian peace boldly.

Then came the Italian victory, celebrated in Rome to the intense

annoyance of British public opinion which is as tolerant towards Germany as it is intolerant with regard to Italy. The Italian advance on Lake Tana has further increased bad temper in British Labour circles, and one was amazed to read the ridiculous reproaches made against the Baldwin Cabinet for not pursuing its dangerous sanctions policy to the very end.

Everyone ought by now to realise that any clumsy move on the European chessboard, leading to the shelving of Italy might bring about the most serious consequences. Italy, if separated from the Western European Bloc, might readily lean towards the other side. This may matter little to England, but from the French standpoint, it would be madness to allow such a break. We do not hesitate to say that it would entail the beginning of French isolation and an absolute German victory, with England looking on placidly.

No one would think of denying the fact that Anglo-French friendship is of the greatest value to peace ; yet, in spite of everything, Latin affinity is an even more powerful factor than Anglo-French friendship. Even Belgium, whilst showing the utmost consideration for British feelings, must needs wish a re-inforcement of the Western-European Bloc. To Belgium, as much as to France, Italy constitutes an element of peace which should on no account be abandoned.

ITALY'S VASSAL STATE

Albania Submits

From the "Journal des Nations," Geneva

SINCE October 1935, the Italian Government, in spite of embarking upon war outside Europe, has remained securely anchored in Europe, having instigated her three vassal States, Austria, Albania and Hungary to desert the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Italian Government found in Berlin and (thanks to M. Laval) in Paris, the necessary support for the development of her plans for simultaneous weakening of the League and division between those States faithful to the Covenant and those which are no longer. A reinforcement of his position in Central Europe at which Mussolini aims, is provided by the so-called "Italo-Albanian agreement," which is in reality nothing less than an act of submission on the part of the weaker party, Albania.

Italy's Adriatic policy has for a long time had two objectives—economic and strategic. From the military point of view, it is a question of securing bases for the Italian fleet better than those provided by the sandy shores on the Italian side. It is a question of securing mastery of the Adriatic by means of control of the Straits of Otranto ; of preparing, if necessary, a first-class military base at the mouth of the Morava-Vardar.

From the economic standpoint, Albania—apart from the possible production of petrol—does not offer much of interest. But in that field too Italy's Imperialistic psychosis invents advantages which do not in fact exist. It is in line with the tradition of Italian nationalism to regard Albania as a milestone on the Roman road to the East, that road which Caesar followed and by which the men of the new era, from Mazzini to the Liberal Governments of Italy, wanted to effect a union and between the Slav and Italian races.

The first treaties with Albania date from 1926. A defensive pact of alliance was signed in 1927. Financial agreements, which gave rise to Italian naval demonstrations before Durazzo, preceded the political conventions. On the other hand, King Zog has from time to time given the impression of wanting to try and gain some independence from Rome. Pushed on by certain statesmen and intellectuals, he would have liked to cut loose from Italian tutelage and recover greater liberty—a liberty which would be entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which respects the sovereignty and independence of each Member State. There were rumours of an Albano-Jugoslav *rapprochement* ; there was even talk of Albania's joining the Balkan Entente. But serious financial difficulties made their appearance. Since even Rome could scarcely help any more in that respect, who would ?

After Albania had refused to join in the condemnation of Italy's violation of the Covenant and the application of sanctions, Rome and Tirana started financial and economic negotiations which led to the agreement which has just been concluded. It is said that Albania is to benefit by a loan of 40,000,000 gold francs, spread over five years. An agricultural bank, a tobacco monopoly and a sort of cooperative for the purchase of Italian products have been created, all financed by Italy.

On the cultural side, Rome secures satisfaction in the question

of schools and welfare societies. Italian organisations are to be accorded privileges.

From the military point of view the results seem still more important. The Albanian army's peacetime strength is to be 10,000 men. The instructors will be Italians, as in the past, and the Chief of Staff will be of Italian nationality. All the military administrative bodies will include Italian experts. The port of Durazzo will be managed by Italy and the coastal positions dominating the bay of Vallona and the Island of Sasseno will also be fortified and organised by her.

The Government of Tirana has thus fallen again completely under the tutelage of Rome. No vestige remains of the independence of the Member State of the League of Nations, which arrogated to itself the right to disregard the Covenant in its most essential articles.

This change in the *status quo* in favour of an aggressor State which joins at the same time two other States of Central Europe, will undoubeedly cause concern to those States in South-East Europe which comprise the two big regional ententes—the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente. For these two Ententes stand above all for the maintenance of the *status quo* and for respect for treaties, for the Covenant of the League.

The aggressor has aggravated by its agreements with Hungary, Albania and Austria its attitude of hostility to the conception of collective security, based on the respect for treaties.

If we want Europe to survive, if we want peace established, it is high time that the Covenant was enforced again, that action was taken to denounce the aggressor again and to apply the law to the full. From the Rhine to the Adriatic the letter and spirit of a peaceful basis to international life rest on respect for Articles 10, 12 and 16 of the Covenant; the independence and territorial integrity of Member States; compulsory arbitration for all differences; and the application of measures which alone can reestablish peace.

THERE FOR EVER

By the treaty with Italy the Albanian Government have finally decided against co-operation with the other Balkan States and for co-operation with Italy. Italy has laid hands on the Balkans and is not going to let herself be pushed off a second time. That is the truth, and Europe must take account of it.—"*Politika*," *Belgrade*.

FRANKNESS FROM FRIENDS ~

WEAK ARMY, WEAK POLICY

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris

ANYONE reading the English Press is forced to admit that public opinion on the other side of the Channel is almost entirely, with more or less marked shades of difference, for Germany and against us. Why ?

For innumerable reasons. First, because they have seen us give way for fifteen years, and because they have no confidence whatever in an energy which, since the Ruhr, has only expressed itself in exhibitions of oratory, more or less vehement, but *all* leading to an abandonment of our rights and positions.

Next, because the English regard the war, the subsequent treaties, reparations—all that—as ancient history which bores them. "The Rhineland is German," says the man in the street. "That is so obvious that you French evacuated it five years before the fixed date. Well, then if it is German, why shouldn't Hitler occupy it ?" For Heaven's sake don't talk to him about the Treaty of Versailles, which he has forgotten—after having drawn all possible benefits from it—or of Locarno, which he never knew much about, and which worries him, because it might one day draw him into a conflict with Germany ! He dislikes all conflicts, and above all a war against a country for which he has racial sympathy and a real esteem.

On the contrary, the average Englishman mostly feels distrust of the French if he thinks of their internal politics, a wounding irony if he thinks of their eternal ministerial crises, and impatience if he thinks of their perpetual recriminations against Germany !

France was invaded in 1792, in 1814, in 1815, in 1870 and in 1914 ; the most recent invasion lasted four years, that is hard to forget, but how can we expect to find fear of a fresh invasion understood by a country which has not seen its soil overrun by foreigners for seven hundred years ?

Finally, and above all, the help which France claims from England is impossible for our cousins on the far side of the Channel to give, for the 1914 Expeditionary Force no longer exists, and it is doubted whether

it would be possible, were things to come to such a point, to send more than two divisions to France.

As for the aircraft which ought to cover our Rhine frontier, the Germans are not unaware of the fact that Britain's squadrons are neither numerically strong enough, nor fast enough, to be of real help to us.

The directors of English policy know this. So they are disposed to follow their opinions when these lead them, for whatever reason, away from a war which would disclose to the world England's lamentable lack of military and air preparedness.

A country must have the policy of its army, it has often been said with reason. So let us not be surprised if for the next two years at least, England is condemned to a policy of peace, *at any price.*

Contrary to the generally admitted opinion, military support from Italy would be worth infinitely more to us in the event of war than from England. The reason is very simple. In 1914, we could at a pinch have won at the Marne without the 35,000 men who represented, at the most, the five British infantry divisions, and one cavalry division after the retreat from Belgium. We could not have won on the other hand, under any circumstances if we had had to maintain three Army Corps against Italy on the Alpine frontier.

In 1936 the situation is identical, except that England could not send half the help she did in 1914, and that Italy's air-force is one of the best in the world. That is why we protested against the absurd sanctions which England made us adopt, her interest being to embroil us with Rome.

A Pitiable Spectacle

From the "Journal des Débats," Paris

THE English are bearing great responsibility at the moment—responsibility which is weighing heavily on them, and of which they will repent bitterly when it is too late, at least if they do not come to their senses very soon. They seem to have lost all political sense, and —a still more serious fact—they no longer have that straightforwardness in negotiations which, whatever their errors of judgment, at least enabled one to believe that, once a decision was arrived at, one could count on them. Having foreseen nothing, and being weakened by

conditions which have sapped their *morale*, they are trembling before Germany, and think of nothing but how to appease her voracious appetite, which only grows in the process.

Misguided public opinion, worked upon by intense German propaganda, weighs on the Government as soon as it shows signs of making the slightest resistance. This great country has never presented such a pitiable spectacle.

A Great Advance on 1914

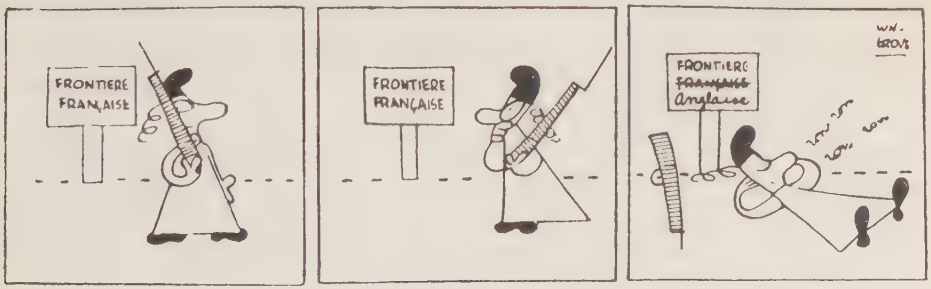
by PAUL BASTID

(*President of the French Foreign Affairs Committee*)

From the "L'Ere Nouvelle," Paris

THE punctilious jurists, who swarm in our newspapers, should be grateful for Mr. Eden's effort—a truly meritorious one for an Englishman. With arguments to which M. Poincaré himself could have added nothing, he has pointed out to the British Parliament the inanity of the German thesis. From the point of view of law, going back to the beginnings, he showed bit by bit the scaffolding of vain pretexts collected by Germany to justify her gesture of March 7. This conscious or unconscious concession to our intellectual habits should find approval in our eyes. In any case, such an analysis made for the first time officially in front of a British assembly has an interest that can escape nobody. Its educational value with regard to our neighbours' opinions deserves emphasis . . .

Mr. Eden declared that "it is a vital interest for our country that the integrity of France and Belgium should be maintained and that no armed force should cross their frontiers." It was an assurance that definitely fixes the position of Great Britain for the future. That



"Marianne," Paris

is an immense advance on 1914 . . .

London's persistence in playing the role of arbiter between Germany and ourselves is nothing astonishing. Against this attitude we cite texts which obviously place England on the same side of the barricades as ourselves. But there is the spirit as well as the letter of the law. Great Britain does not think that it is possible for ever to call the Reich before an examining tribunal composed of other powers, from which Germany is separated by some sort of reverential fear. On this point British opinion is unanimous . . .

That is why Great Britain presses us to examine without prejudice the problems that separate us from Germany and to participate in a reorganisation of Europe on new foundations.

There is one point more to notice. I do not refer to the speeches of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Winston Churchill, whose views have long been very close to our own. What is far more striking is the language of the Labour spokesman. Dr. Dalton strongly criticised the proposals of the Locarno powers and accused the Government of entering into a "Franco-British combination." But, at the same time, he proclaimed the fidelity of the Labour Party to the Geneva protocol and declared that if Germany refuses to enter a system of collective security, then the other powers must organise such security without her. "Great Britain," he declared, "should affirm that Germany will never have a free hand to attack Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria or Russia. If England speaks frankly in Europe, there will be no war in Europe." A bad day for French ideas? Certainly not!

Consolidating Trade Recovery

By Saint-Brice in "Le Matin," Paris

When the English speak of collective action, they do not mean at all the same as we do. For them, collective action consists of making use of international solidarity for their own interests, as in the Ethiopian affair.

Why do the English want an understanding with Germany? First of all, because they have a lot of other worries in the Far East, in Egypt, even in Palestine; because their army and navy have still to be reconstituted. True, they have no more illusions than we have about the precariousness of this policy, but for them it is essential

to gain time. They are confident that they will be able to adapt themselves to circumstances.

Another reason inspires Britain's desire for pacification. The English are watching Hitler's big reconstruction projects complacently, because they are in a good position to benefit from them. Britain is at this moment the *only* great country which is experiencing a real return to prosperity. The British have not, like the Americans, brought about a fictitious boom by throwing millions into the fire. In spite of the extra expenditure on mobilisation in the Mediterranean and of rearmament, they are closing their financial year with a favourably balanced budget. The number of employed persons has increased by a million since the beginning of the crisis ; the building industry has almost doubled ; both imports of raw materials, the basis of work, and exports have increased. Is this not the very moment for completing recovery by bringing about international pacification ?

The idea is right. The only thing is to choose the right means to attain it.

HITLER'S PACT OFFER TO HOLLAND

" De Notenkraker," Amsterdam

EUROPE'S FUTURE —

SINK DIFFERENCES!

Europe must Unite to Face a Common Peril

From a Speech by Emile Roche

M. Emile Roche is Editor of "La République," and Chairman of all the local representatives of the Radical organisations of the north of France. With the speech of which this is an extract, he opened the electoral campaign in the north, and gave the "mot d'ordre" to the whole Radical-Socialist Party. Such moderate and pacific views as he expresses carry far more weight in France than many of the extreme opinions which appear in the popular Paris papers.

EVERYWHERE the world is in a state of flux. In the Far East, a nation which in 1853 numbered thirty million inhabitants, which was closed to our civilisation, which was one day forced to open its doors by Captain Perry, is now a nation of eighty million people, which dream of extending their power over all the four hundred million yellow men on earth. The Yellow Peril, once a kind of romantic vision, has been born. One after the other, the Chinese provinces lying nearest to Japan are falling. Japan dreams of driving the white man out of all the lands lying south and east of Suez.

Opposite Japan is Russia, a nation whose political ideals we may not share. But Russia, with her wealth of man power, is making a tremendous effort to modernise herself and give to her people the opportunities in life which we enjoy. She feels menaced by her immediate neighbour, Japan, just as the nations with colonies in the Far East feel menaced.

Will Europe unite to meet this peril? Hardly, it seems. Quarrels still divide the nations of Europe, just as they once divided the provinces of France. Historians of the future will be amazed that the white race—a race in itself in spite of the mixtures that go to make it—living on the small patch of earth that has been called the "little peninsula

of the Asiatic continent," should have so blinded itself by conflict that it failed to see the peril of another race of another colour rising up against it. For the quarrels between Germans, Italians, French, Yugoslavs, Bulgars, Czechs and Hungarians are nothing in comparison with the rising danger which is already making itself felt in the invasion of our markets by the products of the yellow world, in the undermining of our industry by cut-throat prices, made possible only by the existence of an unorganised and impoverished proletariat.

In making this rapid survey, I intended to show you, before coming to Franco-German relations and to the Franco-Soviet pact, the whole drama that is being played. On the one hand, there is the growing unity of the yellow world, to which may perhaps be added India and the whole of Asia, against a Europe that has long controlled the destiny of all the continents. On the other hand, there is Europe with at least a quarter of the population of the world, exhausting and bleeding itself with interminable struggles.

I believe in cordial relations with the great Russian nation. One cannot ignore its efforts, nor its will to free itself from a political power that right up to 1917 remained a power of oppression. I believe in the formation of a bloc containing all the nations that call themselves Russia, Poland, Germany, France, Belgium and all the little nations formed of the debris of Austria-Hungary which cannot fail to achieve union in the near future with the Danube as capital.

However, you will say, the immediate problem remains. For the past weeks, the tragic Franco-German quarrel has been shaking our nerve and bringing the fear of war to our hearths. Yes, Germany has just reconquered, by means of a characteristic blow in defiance of treaties, which cannot really surprise us if we understand her temperament, a territory partially internationalised in which she had promised to maintain no troops. We had to expect it! Did any of you imagine that such a state of affairs would go on for ever? Was not Locarno, in 1925, a kind of breach of the Treaty of Versailles? What was the reintroduction of conscription of 1935 if not an expression of a steadfast will to break with all the inequalities of 1919?

The last inequality is now gone. What are we to do? Record the violation of a treaty that for us French was sacred from the moment we attached our signature to it? Certainly, that is necessary. It will rally to our sides all who believe that peace can be durable only if

international engagements are respected. But life is life. Germany has just told you : I have lost some of my territories, Polish Silesia, the Corridor, Alsace, Schleswig. I lack sixty per cent. of the fats I need, and many other raw materials. I am a poor country. What are you going to do for me ?

We may reply that we have already done much for her, and that we are in a better position than anybody to ask what she intends to do about us. But politics are not based on memories or bitterness. If France and Germany are to remain encamped opposite one another for ever, once the violation of law has been recorded, then war is certain, and nobody can foretell the outcome. The two nations would emerge ruined in men and money, bereft of their best and youngest. Our present civilisation is destroyed the moment mobilisation is decreed, since those who returned would come back in a very different state of mind. War is the first danger, revolution the second.

If we cannot lift our present differences out of the realm of political and military questions, we can never solve them. We will fight and die. If, on the other hand, we rise above hates and give to political speeches no more importance than they deserve, if we aim at establishing economic and financial cooperation in Europe, if we on both sides of the frontier rally to the (to my mind, imperative) slogan—that our sole aim is to give men work and food—then there will be established an era of peace based on the satisfaction of our needs.

We must not yield to the simple argument which tells us to resist, for that means to fight. We must not allow ourselves to be drawn into the idea of an anti-Fascist or anti-Hitler crusade by those of certain nations of the east who hate Germany in the name of their political or confessional co-religionists. Nothing is of value except a peaceful home, to which a man can return at the end of the day, with food for himself and his family.

A Baltic View

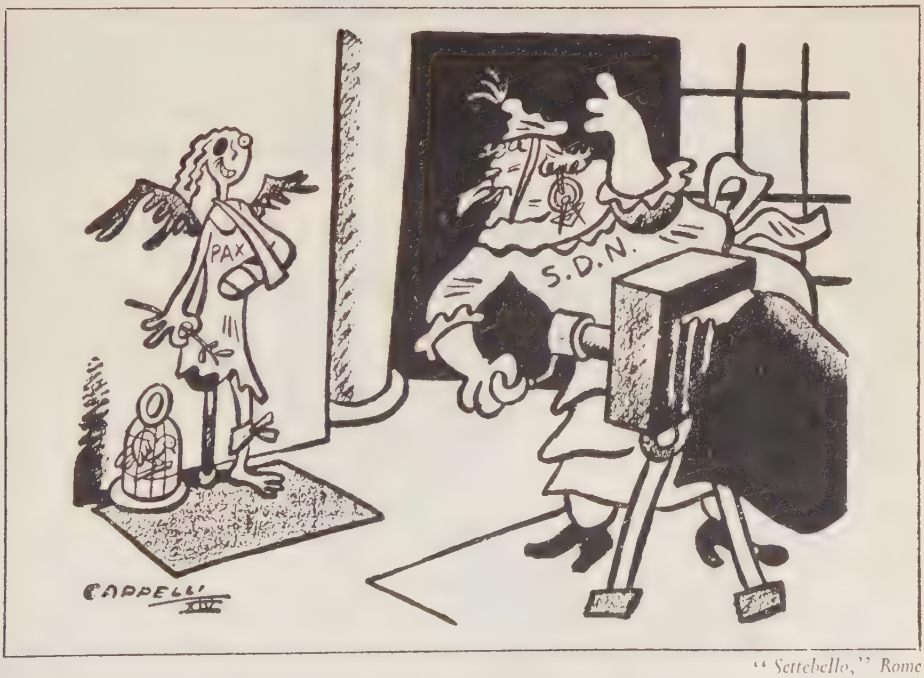
From "Päewaleht," Reval, Estonia

GERMANY is ready to conclude non-aggression pacts with the States of Eastern Europe on the model of the German-Polish treaty. This would mean the maintenance of neutrality in the event of one of the

contracting parties finding itself at war with a third State. There can be no question of mutual assistance here. The small States in the east of Europe are weak when separated from one another. They would therefore get little from such an offer. It may be remembered that when non-aggression pacts were signed with Russia the Baltic States laid great weight on the fact that the obligations were assumed collectively, so that the States in question could act as a political and geographical unity.

DISGUISES

Goering, Goebbels and Schacht recently visited one of the principal restaurants in Berlin and contrived to remain unrecognised. Goering was not in uniform, Goebbels was silent, and Schacht paid the bill.—*Wall Street Journal, New York.*



"Settebello," Rome

PEACE AT THE PHOTOGRAPHER'S

"Smile . . . ."

THEIR LITTLE JOKE

The following anecdote was told in a letter to the "Times" by Mr. Julian Piggott, a former member of the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission. He ended his letter with the proposal that "notice boards should be erected at suitable intervals along the frontier, facing both ways and bearing in bold and compelling type, suitable French and German renderings of the inscription: 'Trespassers will be prosecuted.'"

EARLY in 1921, the Reparations Commission, sitting in Essen, pronounced Germany in technical default on a question of deliveries. The Allied Powers thereupon arose in their wrath and decreed sanctions —one of the earliest recorded examples of that horrid word. Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort were to be occupied forthwith, and the occupied territories were to be sundered from the remainder of Germany by a Customs barrier.

Britain participated somewhat half-heartedly in the occupation of the three cities—half-heartedly because the British garrison of Cologne was away on plebiscite duty in Upper Silesia—and contributed a troop of Hussars, the odd tank (1915 model), and a couple of motor-boats armed with machine-guns.

The Customs barrier, however, provided a more ticklish problem for his Majesty's Government. The versatile diplomat who occupied at that time the post of British High Commissioner on the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission cabled frantically home for a posse, covey, or gaggle of Customs officials for duty on the perimeter of the Cologne bridge-head. Whitehall replied:

"Nothing doing."

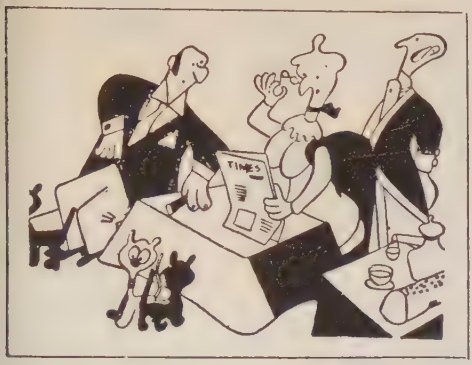
"Territorials?"

"Cannot be spared."

"Boy Scouts?"

"Don't be funny."

But he would have his little joke, and with ill-timed levity announced his intention of erecting notice boards along the frontier, facing out into unoccupied Germany, and bearing the inspiring message:— "England expects every German to pay his duty."



"Settebello," Rome

OVERHEARD IN BELGRAVIA

"A scandal! Sending dum-dum bullets to Abyssinia to kill the poor Lions!"

"But they are meant for the Italians!"

"Ah! That makes a difference!"

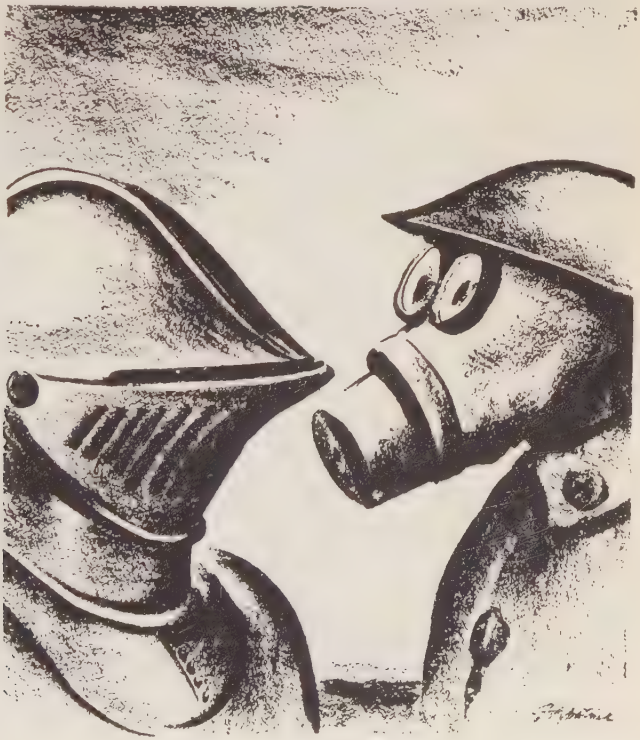
"Il Travaso delle Idee," Milan

THE FIGHT AGAINST SANCTIONS

"But isn't the 'Thousand Miles' usually a motor race?"

"Yes, but they are doing it on foot this year to save petrol."

PROGRESS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES



Fitzpatrick, "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

THE GALLIC COCK—
"Betrayed... ! !"

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

Low, "Evening Standard," London

PIECE DE RESISTANCE

EASTER,
1936 MODEL

"Marianne," Paris

SABOTAGE IN THE BRITISH FLEET

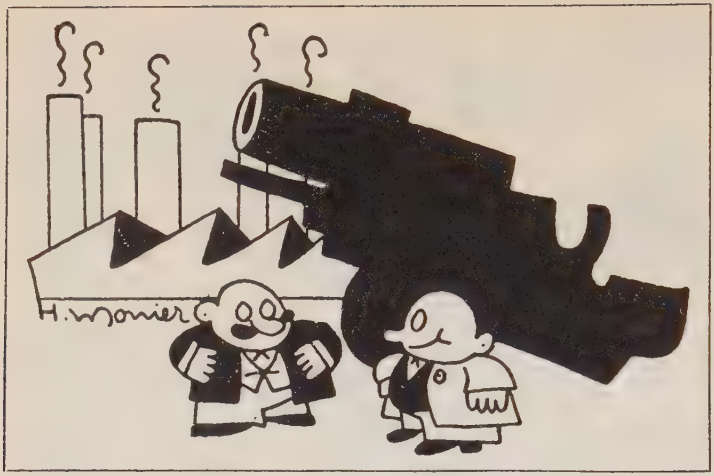
Another Easter Egg—but a Russian one unfortunately!

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

"Marianne," Paris

SCHOOLMASTER FLANDIN

"During the holidays Stanley will conjugate 50 times the verb 'to have one's frontier on the Rhine.' And you Adolf, since you maintain that security and peace are not indivisible, you will try to find their highest common denominator."



" La Lumière," Paris

FRENCH REARMAMENT

THE ARMAMENT KING :

" But you can't want our brave little poilus to be the only ones deprived of our products . . . ."

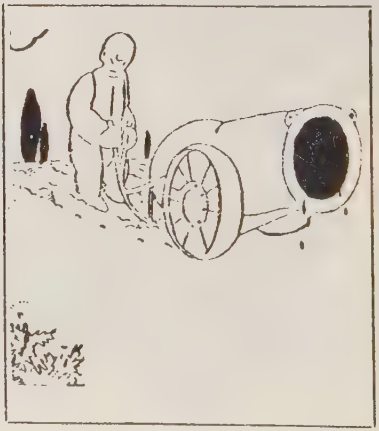
HITLER SPEAKS

" Vremea," Bucharest

Chimes of Peace

" Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

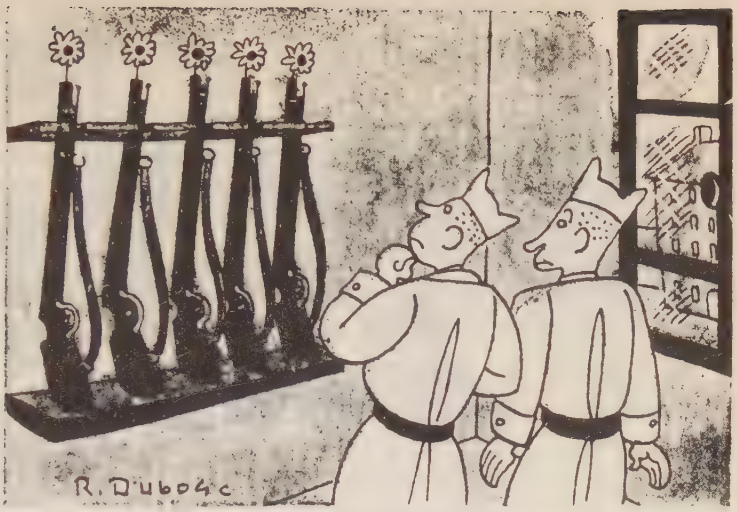
" Fuehrer, You are elected ! "
" Oh ! What a nice surprise ! "



" El Sol," Madrid

The new plough—invented by civilisation.

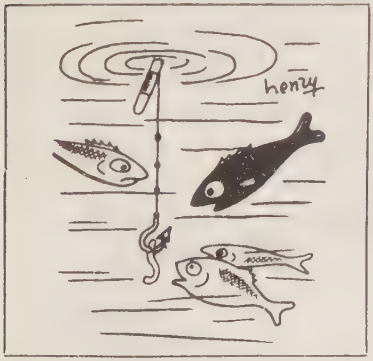
THE FLOWERS THAT BLOOM IN THE SPRING



"Marianne," Paris

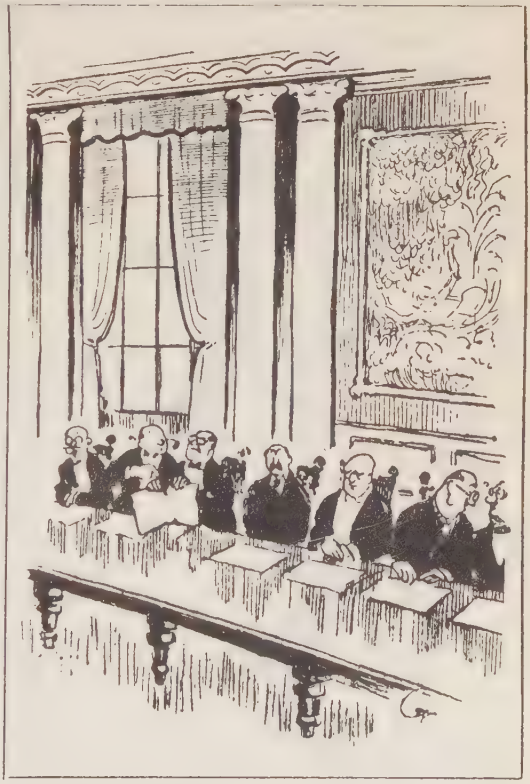
"La Tribuna," Rome

The Negus—"And where are my European counsellors now?"



"Marianne," Paris

"Do you think that that can be the Maginot line?"

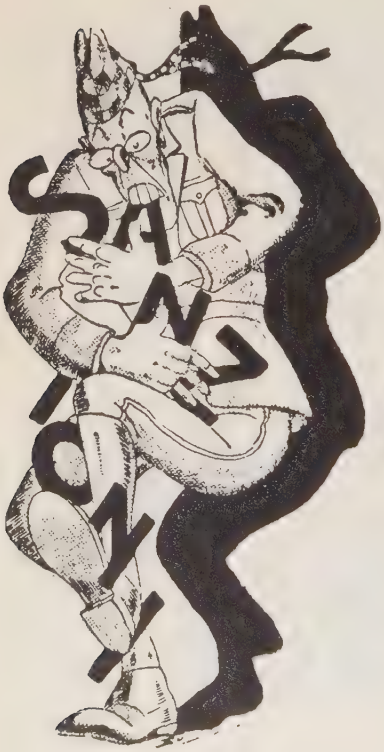


"Dublin Opinion," Ireland

"Don't tear the Treaty up yet, sir. We haven't all signed it"

"Sydney Bulletin," Australia

"I regret to announce the death of our esteemed colleague, Alderman Bonehead. I will ask you now to stand in silence as a token of respect for the ol' cow."



"Il 420," Florence

It is easy to impose sanctions, difficult to maintain them.

"Humanité," Paris

THE GERMAN ELECTION

Vote! Voted!! Wotan!!!

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

WORRIES OF A DICTATOR

"How shall I have my hair cut . . . ?"

One of the chief objections raised by opponents of Britain's committments under the Covenant of the League is that we may be involved in war for maintenance of the status quo in Austria, Danzig, Memel or Bohemian Czechoslovakia—all corners of Europe in which Germany believes she has a grievance. The position of the German minority in Czechoslovakia is, therefore, one of direct importance for British citizens.

FRICTION IN BOHEMIA

From the "Journal de Genève," Geneva

THE relations between Czechs and Germans have recently become one of the fundamental problems of the national and political life of Czechoslovakia. Not long ago, Herr Henlein, head of the Bohemian German party, made a much-discussed speech. Speaking of "culture" among the German minorities, he expressed opinions very similar to those held in the Third Reich. The echo of this speech reached the Prague parliament, and the demand was raised in Czech circles that Herr Henlein's party should be dissolved on the grounds that it endangered the State.

Shortly after this conference, the president of the club of the Bohemian German deputies, Herr Sandner, accused the old parties of the Prague parliament of corruption. He contrasted them with the party of the Bohemian Germans, which, he said, is a movement founded on the ideals of youth.

"One cannot expect an agreement between the professional politicians of Prague and the Germans for some time," continued Herr Sandner. "Such collaboration would only be possible if a national sentiment appeared in the country, and if it were recognised that security is not so much a question of foreign policy, of pacts and alliances, as of internal consolidation.

"The position of the Germans in Czechoslovakia does not correspond to the provisions of the constitution or of the minorities treaties, all of which state that nothing shall be done to prejudice

citizens of German origin. Three million Germans suffer under disadvantages. The treatment of Czechs does not correspond to their relative numerical strength (whereas Czechs form only 48 per cent. of the total population, they occupy 95 per cent. of the officers' ranks in the army). It is in the field of social services that the partiality of the government is most tragic. There are half a million German unemployed, half the total number of unemployed in all Czechoslovakia. The German districts have an unemployed percentage of 80 per cent. and more. In spite of this, the government allotted only sixty-four contracts for special relief works to German districts, out of a total of 393. The rest were given to purely Czech concerns, who imported their workmen from Czech districts.

"These denationalising tendencies inspire us with a desire for unanimous struggle. Our principle wish is to see the social services freed of any chauvinistic influences. Justice and equality must reign in social legislation. A reduction of the Bohemian Germans to despair would create for the government the most difficult internal problems."

Thus Herr Sandner. Here is the official reply, short and precise :

Disloyal Elements

The Bohemian German party claims to represent the whole German minority. In actual fact, it could only win two-thirds of the German vote, in spite of tremendous propaganda. The rest of the minority has long been living in peaceful collaboration with the Czech population and is represented in the Government by two German ministers. The Henlein party comprises various and even opposed interests, following in that respect an authoritarian example. Such a mixture is irreconcilable with parliamentary government.

In addition, the Henlein party includes many members hostile to the Czech State. Daily reports of the police and the law courts prove it. Can the Czechoslovak government introduce such people into its army and its civil services, whether their hostility is veiled or not ? By the appointment of two German ministers, the Government has shown that it is willing to collaborate with the German minority, but only on a democratic basis. It will greet all constructive work among the Bohemian Germans, as soon as they have proved their loyalty to the Czech State and its works.

"HELP YOURSELF" MINERS

From "Die Zeit," Prague (Organ of the Bohemian Germans)

This picture of unemployment from Czechoslovakia might have come from many other parts of the world, where bitter distress is driving men to help themselves to the wealth of the earth. The chief industrial district of Czechoslovakia, which is also the part in which the German minority lives, is in a particularly desperate plight.

On the dump, unemployed men kneel by the hour, grubbing in the debris that has been brought out of the pit for anything of any use whatever—bits of coal, broken bricks, split wooden stakes. One little waggon-load or even less of this rubbish is the reward of a whole day's patient waiting and digging.

In the pauses they crouch by the glowing dump fires, not heeding the poisonous fumes so long as they can get warm.

This joyless scavenging, so pathetic in its primitiveness, is going on constantly in the deserted open workings of the Bohemian coal district. In spite of official prohibition, the unemployed continue "mining" for themselves and for sale.

Men and women dig in squads in damp ditches and deep shafts. The most reckless undermine slopes, making dangerous, overhanging walls of sand; they dig narrow, deep shafts, like chimneys, down which they clamber to the seam. Buckets and rope follow. They work without any of the usual precautionary equipment, as they have no money. Even the expert collier is constantly threatened by death by suffocation through a fall of earth. But they do not care. "It's all the same how we go to hell."

On the hand-sieves the coal piles up, whilst above, on the edge of the workings, the little hand waggons are waiting in a long row. The men carry the sacks up the slippery slope. There is a whistle—the warning runs from mouth to mouth, they all rush with picks and shovels, buckets and sieves up to the waggons, and dash away along the muddy trampled paths across the fields. The police are coming.

The authorities keep a strict watch on these forbidden workings, for illegal mining has already had serious consequences. Dead men

on whom earth has fallen have had to be dug out from depths of forty-five feet. The "poachers" run into branches of the real pits and are said to make their continued working impossible. In one place they have even begun to undermine a road.

The police and watchmen make arrests, and confiscate tools. A whole "park" of waggons is piling up in the police station-yards. The laboriously excavated pits are dynamited into ruin. But the men would rather bear any punishment than give up their work. Several of them have been to prison as often as ten times. Death does not frighten them either; their plight is too great. They are starving in cold rooms, without work or money, and outside the coal lies before their eyes. From digging it for their own use, to selling it is only a short step. There are only a few fortunate ones who have savings enough, or can secure credit from the mineowners, to buy up some remote shaft to work by hand. The penniless are driven by their need elementally to the natural wealth of the earth; and they take it without heeding any complicated rules made by society, obeying simply the old law that unites man and the soil. Without pathos they bear the lunacy of their existence, which forces them to perish should they seek to satisfy their most elementary needs. Along the roads to the towns, and through the lanes their little waggons roll, piled up with sacks, with a dull-faced man and woman lying beside them. It is a hard, hopeless day's work they do, that often remains without reward, for the supply is great, and regular customers soon exhausted. It is motor-trains that are rolling along the railway lines. For the sake of the Little Entente foreign oil has to be consumed, and the local coal-mining industry is being ruined.

ANOTHER BONE OF CONTENTION

From "Osteuropa," Berlin

In the last two years the problem of Teschen, *i.e.*, the Czech part of former Austrian Silesia, has arisen once more. Teschen was the beginning of the quarrel between Poland and Czechoslovakia, which is still as far as ever from solution . . .

For the Czechs—here, as elsewhere, the *beati possidentes*—the question at stake is the connection between Bohemia in the west and

Slovakia and Ruthenia in the east. This connection would be menaced if Poland advanced to meet the 100,000 Poles of Teschen. In addition there is the danger of Poland breaking in on Hungarian regions. The friendship between Hungary and Poland is well-known. Such an eventuality would directly menace the Czechs and their state, by cutting them off from the resources of the Carpathian Slavs . . .

While Poland has made it up with the new Germany, Czechoslovakia maintains the role of the last inflexible champion of the Versailles mentality. That became clear long before the resurgence of the struggle for Teschen, in the verdicts pronounced in Czechoslovakia on the German-Polish pact. But the freedom won by Poland through this pact permitted her at once to resume the solution of problems that she had hitherto had to forego, *e.g.*, the Lithuanian problem and the case of Teschen . . .

Recently, Poland's situation has changed once more. Her freedom has again been restricted by the U.S.S.R's pact policy. The U.S.S.R. has drawn Lithuania and Czechoslovakia into its sphere of influence. It is now trying to complete these positions by drawing in Rumania, hitherto Poland's ally. The new constellation has already had its effect on Teschen. "We are strong enough—thanks in part to the pact with Russia—to show that it is not wise to provoke us," writes the *Lidove Noviny*, (a paper in close connection with the Foreign Office at Prague). "If Poland wants to quarrel, we are ready. Teschen is ours and remains ours."

DANGER IN THE EAST

by HERBERT KORGEL

From the "Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik," Heidelberg

THE dictated peace of Versailles struck deep into the body of the German people. The aim of the mutilation was clear—destruction of the German people, and thereby destruction of its hegemony in Central Europe. To this day Germans must stand by helplessly, while smaller peoples maltreat the German communities separated from the Fatherland. Unless Germans within the boundaries of the Reich look upon every blow against the German minorities outside as a blow against

themselves, the resistance of the minorities will weaken.

In 1921 Upper Silesia lost a million inhabitants and a quarter of its territory. The separation of Eastern Upper Silesia was a severe loss. According to Article 83 of the dictated Versailles treaty, the small district of Hultschin was ceded to Czechoslovakia without a plebiscite. With this district Upper Silesia lost 48,000 inhabitants and 316 square kilometres. Czechification is carried out by force. Hitherto it has been alleged that only 11 per cent. of the population was German, a masterpiece of Czech census work! In the elections to the Czech parliament of May, 1935, 74 per cent. of the voters declared their adherence to German traditions. In spite of this, the oppression of the Germans goes on.

According to a draft of the Versailles treaty of May, 1919, Upper Silesia was to be ceded to Poland in its entirety. The plebiscite which was nevertheless held took place under pressure, supported by the French army of occupation. A majority of 60 per cent. voted for Germany. The result of the plebiscite was not respected, and the madness of mutilating Upper Silesia was committed. The impossible position of Beuthen which is bounded on three sides by Polish territory is typical of this contemptible kind of frontier demarcation. Over 3,220 square kilometres and a million men of whom 300,000 were Germans, were handed over to Poland. Poland received by far the most important part of the industrial region, including Kattowitz, where the German majority reached a figure of 87 per cent.

The destruction of German forms of life in Eastern Upper Silesia proceeds according to plan, in the economic and cultural fields. More than 100,000 Germans left for Germany when the frontier was determined! The places of the expelled German workers and officials were taken by Poles, chiefly Galicians. The number of pupils in the German lower and middle schools in Polish Silesia is falling annually by more than a thousand. After the Polish-German Treaty of Friendship there was *no* improvement in the position of the Germans. In 1937 the agreement of 1922, which provides for the mitigation of intolerable grievances resulting from the determination of the frontier during a transition period, expires.

With the cession of Eastern Upper Silesia to Poland, active Polish propaganda started. It is a question of winning the Slavs in Germany for a Greater Poland, particularly the "800,000" Poles in Western

Upper Silesia. The demands of certain Polish movements for the incorporation of still more German territory in Poland is given open emphasis. A Polish middle school was opened in Beuthen two years ago, and a Polish girls' school is being built in Ratibor. The Polish minority in Western Upper Silesia is showing an unparalleled activity.

Early this year the Committee of the Poland League in Germany resolved to present the Leader and Chancellor in person with a description of the situation of the Polish minority in Germany. They alleged that the exercise of national rights in ecclesiastical, cultural and economic matters was being systematically obstructed and that Germanisation had not yet been stopped!

Upper Silesia, the basis of German expansion in the Middle Ages, is in great danger! Of the three great German peninsulas, the central one is exposed to systematic attempts at Slavonification. Upper Silesia embraces less than half its former territory. Unless we wish this downhill trend to continue, we must make every effort to retain mutilated Upper Silesia for ever!

HE GOT AWAY WITH IT

A novel plea to a charge of drunkenness was made by Edward O'Neil when he appeared before Judge Thomas A. Green at Chicago.

" It's this way, your Honour," said O'Neil. " I had a pet frog that I'd sit on the bar when I went into a place for a drink. When he changed colour I new I'd had enough. But last night someone stole my frog."

" Case dismissed if you get a new frog," was the Judge's ruling.—*Malacca, Guardian.*

ITALIAN CULTURE FOR HUNGARY

An Italian " Palace of Culture " is shortly to be erected in Budapest, The Palace will contain a large reading-room, a standing exhibition and a cinema in which State films of Italy will be shown. Concerts and lecturers will also be given. A cultural course is being organised, in which leading Italian specialists will partake, no cost being spared. Italian art and new Fascist Italy, its organisations and problems, will be propagated.—*Függetlenség, Budapest.*

THE WELFARE WORKERS

" We are leaving as an open question the purposes for which it would be used. It can be used for welfare service, it can be used as security against the enemy with or without arms." *Chancellor Schuschrigg announcing Austria's new conscript army.*

Spain is passing through a critical phase. The General Elections in February replaced a large majority of Right and Centre by a small majority of the Left-Wing Popular Front over Right and Centre combined. Senor Azaña, leader of the Left Republicans, formed a ministry. Outside Parliament, Left jubilation was accompanied by occasional excesses ; in Parliament, it tended in an overwhelming vote to dismiss the President of the Republic.

PINK OR RED?

From "Le Temps," Paris

THE events in Spain can surprise no one who has followed the situation created there by the victory of the Popular Front in the February elections. The Popular Front is a dangerous combination, because its true character has been masked by the presence in its midst of bourgeois republican elements. In this electoral coalition, where Left Republicans and dissident Radicals sit cheek by jowl with moderate socialists, Marxist revolutionaries, syndicalists, and even anarchists, the extremists were careful to manoeuvre with the Radicals and Republicans to avoid frightening the electors. For purely tactical reasons they subscribed to a relatively moderate programme based on the principles of democratic liberty and condemning in fact the nationalisation of the banks and most of the fundamental demands of socialism and communism.

The electoral victory of the Left was won in very doubtful circumstances. On the first vote, the Left obtained 4,356,000 votes and the combined Centre and Right 4,910,817. Only the anomalies of the electoral system gave the Left a majority of the seats in the Cortes. Once the result was obtained the extremists were careful to cover themselves with the strong personality of Señor Azaña to reassure popular opinion. They allowed Señor Azaña to form a cabinet composed only of members of the bourgeois parties, to the exclusion of the Socialists and Communists. Señor Azaña declared that he was determined to govern impartially on the basis of the same relatively moderate programme that the Popular Front had adopted for the elections. This attitude revived to a certain extent the confidence of

the Centre and Right parties. At once the extremists grew anxious. They threw off the mask, accused Señor Azaña of betraying the cause of the people, demanded a purge of the army, and government in the spirit of the Left coalition that had carried him into office.

A campaign was launched in the main centres. Churches were set on fire in Madrid and Granada, a whole section of Logroño was burnt to the ground. In the country, the peasantry, urged on by paid agitators, proceeded to divide the estates of their masters. Revolutionary passions were unleashed, and the elements of disorder and anarchy incited the masses to every excess. Señor Azaña's government did all it could to control the situation, but it is to be feared that it may be finally overthrown by events. Prisoner of the extremist parties with which the Republicans and Radicals had formed their electoral alliance, taken into power by the votes of Socialists, Syndicalists and Communists who promised him political support which has had no effect but that of paralysing the authorities in the necessary suppression of risings, the Azaña Cabinet is in a tragic situation.

Agents Provocateurs

From the "Heraldo de Madrid"

THE enemies of the régime are getting ready their machinery for sabotaging the Republic and representing it as a product of violence and catastrophe. We have advised the Government of the necessity of suppressing with a firm hand the provocative activities of people irreconcilably hostile to the régime. Disarmament of the groups favouring disorder and crime is essential . . .

The aim of the Right is clear. They wish to exasperate the masses, already angered by the abuses and persecution of the last two years, to a point when they are driven to take the law into their own hands. Then the Right can proclaim to the four winds that the Republic is a régime of destruction and anarchy. It is very possible that they will then make this the pretext for armed intervention.

The Flight from Responsibility

From "El Socialista," Madrid

THE withdrawal of the parties of the Right from the Cortes had none of the sensational results expected by those who effected it. There

are resolutions that are stillborn, and that of the CEDA is one of them. They are stillborn because they are unjustified. There is a close parallel between the withdrawal of the CEDA and that of the Socialist minority on the eve of the October revolution. In the latter case, abstention from Parliament on the part of the Socialists reflected not only a state of public conscience, but also the impossibility of working in a Parliament where the majority made the persecution of its adversaries its sole *raison d'être*. The Socialists left Parliament to defend in the streets the rights which it was impossible to defend by legal means.

Political "Fronts" Mean Civil War

From "El Sol," Madrid

It is absurd to maintain two great antagonistic and irreconcilable fronts in Spain, divided by an unbridgeable gulf. Such a situation is permissible in only one eventuality—when an electoral campaign is imminent. It is *not* possible, without sacrifice of the highest interests and the greatest moral values of a nation, to prolong this division indefinitely. Such a division can only lead to fatal civil war.

The architect of the Popular Front in France has realised this terrible reality. M. Gaston Bergery has stated that either France must abolish this division into two united fronts or the division will abolish France.

We believe the same to be true for Spain. The opposing camps must be broken up by the dissolution of party alliances, whether of the Left or of the Right.

Ideologies and attitudes must be concretely defined. On the one side, those who are loyal to the Republican régime, on the others who are openly outside the established order. For or against legality; for constitution or revolution.

BULL-FIGHTING DECLINES

Condensed from "La Voz" and "Ya," Madrid

BULLFIGHTING does not pay as it used to. Young Spain is not so interested in the game as its parents were. There are no scenes of great enthusiasm in and outside the great arenas. Football and politics are gradually taking their place as objects of chief interest.

This gave rise to a curious controversy. The bullfighting industry, a formidable branch of entertainment employing several thousand breeders, managers, toreros, fighters, ticket-collectors, arena-cleaners, etc., is anxious about its future.

It was attacked by the progressive parties of the Left This, however, was found to be bad electioneering. Despite the declining interest certain sections of the Spanish people would have been aroused by a complete prohibition and the interests behind the arenas would almost certainly have fought the Government on that issue.

Instead the Government has limited the concessions. Practically no new arenas can be opened at present. The progressive parties hope that this form of cruel entertainment will die out when Spanish talkies and sports attract greater crowds.

But the bullfighters themselves do not think so. They consider that this form of traditional national entertainment has sufficient claims for maintenance quite apart from the employment it provides to many thousand families.

One of the measures taken in the interest of improving the chances of the industry is the creation of a Bullfighting Academy in the home of all bull-fights, in Seville. It is believed that one of the reasons of the decrease in general interest is to be found in the lower standards of skill among bullfighters.

Critics claim that gangster fights in American Talkies show better standards of fighting.

Spanish newspapers have patriotically supported the Academy scheme by granting a good deal of free publicity to its efforts to raise the standard of the game, while the industry itself believes that once political stability returns to the country interest will be revived. Managers of arenas are sadly talking of political violence and street fights between Right and Left elements, which are supposed to be responsible for the decline of the cash receipts at the arena box offices. Free fights in streets mean less interest for the paid form of violent entertainment.

MUSSOLINI'S ADMIRER

King Carol of Rumania has just created a new order with which to decorate persons who have done particular service in the cause of the physical and moral education of youth. The first person to be decorated is no other than Mussolini, as a mark of the young King's esteem.—*De Telegraaf, Amsterdam.*

ROSES IN JANUARY; MORONS IN JUNE

by BRUCE BLIVEN

From "The New Republic," New York

SOME years ago I wrote an article about Los Angeles in which I expressed a belief that some day California might have a civilisation comparable to that on the shores of the Mediterranean two thousand years ago. I have been derided for that opinion by a good many civilised people who, having visited California, have a general feeling that it strongly resembles Hell, with occasional showers in winter. Nevertheless, I still believe that what I said is true, though I perhaps ought to add that before this transformation can happen it may be necessary to put to death about 95 per cent. of the existing population. The psychologists may be able to explain why it is that a semi-tropical climate attracts so many undesirable people; any tourist wandering in the streets of Los Angeles can see the fact demonstrated.

Here is the world's prize collection of cranks, semi-cranks, placid creatures whose bovine expression shows that each of them is studying, without much hope of success, to be a high-grade moron, angry or ecstatic exponents of food fads, sun-bathing, ancient Greek costume, diaphragm breathing and the imminent second coming of Christ. As they stroll the streets, the women by preference in white-duck sailor pants and bandanna brassières, the men with a Spanish scarf for a belt and shod with purple velvet shoes, they find a good deal of difficulty in concentrating enough to get out of the way of the innumerable cheap automobiles, tied together with bits of string and driven by moon-calves as vacuous as themselves.

These are the people who flock by the thousands into new churches where Christianity is combined in the jolliest way with snappy jazz bands; who cluster at movie "premeers" to stand and gawp for hours at the limousine customers; who patronise with pleasure an ice-cream stand in the shape of a vast ice-cream cone, a hot-dog emporium built like a hot dog, a drive-in butcher shop with a six-piece orchestra; who will under no circumstances buy potato chips unless the girl who sells them is dressed like an Elizabethan page boy or a hula dancer. To say all this is not to deny that there are some intel-

ligent and sophisticated people in Southern California, an aristocracy of intellect as fine as exists anywhere in the world. The question is one of respective proportion.

The prevailing psychology of Southern California is a compound of several things, including the attitude of the horde described above and that of the elderly man from the Middle West who has retired with a little money and wants to spend his declining years where it is warm, and without working. Many of these individuals do not attempt to live on interest or dividends, but divide their resources into their expectation of life, and spend each year that year's share. Under the salubrious California sun, some of them live longer than they had estimated, run out of money and face a plight that is pitiful indeed. No wonder Dr. Townsend came from Long Beach . . .

While this area suffered deeply in the depression, hard times are an old story to its inhabitants, of all ages and occupations. Southern California is an open-shop community with low wages, insecurity of employment and an oversupply of would-be workers who have drifted to the West Coast, not, as Upton Sinclair's enemies have said, in expectation of living under his Epic plan, but simply because they feel it is a little easier to be poor in a warm climate than in a cold one. For all these reasons, Southern Californians have the reputation throughout the West of being thrifty to the last degree. Said a filling-station attendant, far out on the desert, as a car with California plates drew up, " Here comes one of them damn I.W.W's from the Golden West." After the car had departed again he explained his remark : " I.W.W.—all them birds ever want is Information, Wind and Water."

Southern California tries as hard to keep poor people away as it does to lure the well-to-do and rich as tourists or permanent residents. Part of the technique of the publicity for the latter purpose, a scheme which has been copied by Florida, is to hire a troop of chorus girls who are kept on the payroll the year round and photographed once a fortnight, en masse, and as nearly naked as possible, doing any idiotic thing the press agent can think of. These pictures are distributed free to newspapers all over the country to be published with a few words of text under a California dateline. The argument of press agent and publishers alike is that Legs Is What the Public Wants, and the enterprise succeeds like everything. The booklet about California distributed free to all passengers on westbound trains is a masterpiece of

misrepresentation by means of the camera. The photographers have managed to make California seem like a densely overgrown tropical jungle, inhabited almost entirely by the beforementioned unclad chorus girls, lying about in languorous attitudes. I understand there is a high annual mortality among elderly gentlemen who, after perusing these booklets, get off and run ahead of the train in the endeavour to arrive a little sooner. The tourist racket is nothing like what it was seven years ago, when Los Angeles built 300 houses and one hotel, on the average, every week for a year ; but it is still fairly good ; and it still continues to produce such standard phenomena as large front-page headlines when Florida has a hurricane and extremely brief and inconspicuous items when California has an earthquake.

As one who lived many years in the Far West, and has returned to that area at fairly frequent intervals ever since, I was interested to note the increasing atmosphere of repression that one finds in California today . . . On more than one college campus (though certainly not all of them in the State) the authorities and fascist-minded undergraduates combine in seeking to terrorise liberal and radical students into a silence about as complete as that produced by the "dangerous thoughts" law in Japan. Most of the State's big newspapers (with distinguished exceptions like the Manchester Boddy journals in Los Angeles) are engaged in a feverish Red hunt—and they know all the tricks.

In Los Angeles, the notorious Red Squad of the city's police goes on breaking up meetings, invading homes, destroying property and beating up or otherwise harassing anybody who for any accidental reason comes under its attention. Nobody would be much surprised if the San Francisco shipowners and their allies were to declare a mighty war against the longshoremen with the intention of breaking up the union once and for all and creating an open-shop waterfront. Editors, teachers, ministers and others whose opinions are more or less a matter of public record feel a crushing burden of hostility, of potential or actual censorship, that is having its usual effect : it is tending to drive the progressives, the mild reformers, over to the extreme left, and to push that left in turn underground.

If one seeks to understand the extraordinary brutality with which many California employers, especially in agriculture, treat their workers, there are several things to be noted beyond the mere fact that here

are private capitalists greedy for profits. (After all, England is also full of private capitalists, yet any British employer who acted by the normal standards of California would undoubtedly be hanged by the neck in front of the Houses of Parliament.) One point is that California is really isolated from the main currents of opinion in older, more settled communities that have had time enough to think these things over ; cut off by mountains and desert, the East seems very far away and Europe, broadly speaking, simply does not exist. Another is that California's tradition is always of dealing with common labour of an alien race or otherwise especially helpless : Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and white workers, who have been mostly itinerants.

The pioneer in any part of the world is always as tyrannical as he dares to be, and there are still vestiges of the pioneer spirit in the West. Many of California's Big Men have business connections in the Orient, travel there often and come home with a permanent confusion in their minds between the status of a Chinese coolie in Shanghai and a free white longshoreman in San Francisco. They would, I am sure, endorse the suggestion that is now beginning to be heard all over the West, that any unemployed person should have his right to vote suspended during the period he is on the relief rolls.

The proper place to think quietly about the raucous civilisation of Los Angeles is certainly out on the desert, which to me is and always has been the loveliest, the most enchanting place on earth. At the moment, the part of the Colorado Desert in Southern California that lies nearest to Hollywood is having a great vogue among the movie stars and certain other fashionables, and all winter long, at Palm Springs and a few such places, the vast $25-a-day hotels are filled with smart people recuperating from the strain of making pictures for the twelve-year-old mind or, in certain cases, trying to bake out of themselves the results of excessive drinking so that they may go home and drink to excess. I am told on good authority, however, that of this population not three per cent. loves the desert for its own sake, and that in a few years it is fair to assume that the tide of fashionable approval will have subsided again and the real habitués—the "desert rats"—will no longer be annoyed to spy some beauteous Hollywood houri sunbathing behind every second cactus—or am I wrong in my assumption about the attitude of the desert worshipper under these circumstances ?

At any rate, there is still plenty of desert left practically untouched for those who want miraculous beauty, primeval hush, and air so dry that it stings in the nostrils. I know a canyon—let us christen it Santa Ysabel for discretion's sake—where a tiny mountain stream tumbles over grey and purple rocks that glow deep red when they are wet. Behind is the vast bulk of a mountain ; before you are fifteen hundred square miles of the desert's open face and beyond that again, a mountain range that changes all day long from turquoise to amethyst to coral and purple and back again . . . As you sit above the valley on a shoulder of the rock, watching through binoculars for thirty minutes a tiny train across the valley doing sixty miles an hour, but still unable to escape your vision or to reach you with its angry whistling, which is recorded only as jets of steam hanging a moment in the air, the California of Mr. Hearst, of police clubs and half-starvation and movie premeers, seems like a particularly bad bad dream . . . When the Fascist dictatorship comes, could I please be interned in Santa Ysabel Canyon, with a deck chair ? Well, I didn't think so ; but no harm in asking.

THIS BONUS BUSINESS

The House is examining the organisation of the amazing Townsend old age pension movement. Sensational disclosures are promised. Under the plan Americans over sixty would obtain such a handsome pension that half the national income would be consumed in paying it. To obtain the pension the expectant aged have subscribed £200,000 to the Townsend organisation. Collecting their hopeful pennies is apparently a remunerative business. According to the evidence, one of the collectors has made an income of £4,000 a year.

The investigation coincides with a split among the organisation leaders. This is evidence that the movement is losing influence. The mere fact that the House has been emboldened to take action is a further testimony to its decline.

Recovery is, of course, one reason for the decline of a movement which flourished with so many other nostrums on depression. With recovery the American people are again re-asserting their sense of humour. Clubs are being founded in opposition to the semi-religious Townsend clubs to work for similarly handsome pensions for those of younger age. The college youth are invited to join a new movement called " The veterans of future foreign wars." The members demand a bonus in advance of the next war. The movement, which is spreading like wildfire, copies the Nazi salute, except that the palm is turned up in a position to receive a " handout."—*New York correspondent of the " Observer," London.*

FRENCH-CANADIAN NATIONALISM

From the "Canadian Forum," Toronto

THERE is a movement on foot amongst the French-Canadians that Canadians would do well to study. Unnoticed by the English press, unsuspected by the public at large, it is steadily gaining strength in Quebec. It has its own clubs, its youth organisations, its newspapers. What is of vastly more importance, it has the backing of the Catholic Church.

This is the movement for the creation of an independent French and Catholic republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence. . . .

The world war gave it popularity amongst a people conscripted to fight other people's battles on foreign soil, but during the years of "prosperity" little more was heard of it. With the depression, however, it has again sprung into prominence, and this time it is a force to be reckoned with. For Paul Gouin, the leader of the Action Liberale Nationale party, which now holds forty-two seats in the provincial legislature, has himself publicly voiced the hope of French-Canadian independence. He recently spoke of the "supernatural vocation" of the French race in America, where, in the midst of this North-American Babylon, it was destined to become the "modern Israel." The hope, he admitted, could not be immediately realised, but it was something towards which his fellow countrymen would never cease to strive.

To understand the full character of the movement, one must read some paper like *L'Indépendance*. This is the official organ of the "Jeunesses Patriotes," a youth organisation most active in promoting the new nationalism . . .

In the first place, the call for independence from the Dominion is made in ringing tones. "The French-Canadian people will not exist as a nation until it has freed itself from the foreign yoke. This is a right we claim, we demand, and we shall acquire." Confederation is an absurd attempt to bind together provinces divided by race, culture, geography and religion. There is a natural right to secession. A new name is suggested for the state-to-be : Laurentia. "O Laurentie, terre de nos aieux."

It is to be a Catholic state. Just what that means in the political field is not very clear, but some idea of how theocratic it will be may

be gained from the fact that the present control of the Church in Quebec is apparently considered inadequate. At present the priesthood in Quebec merely controls all education, the press, the French trades unions, and social behaviour generally. In the new republic it will not be so hampered.

It is to be a corporative state. "The parliamentary régime can lead us only to ruin, because it requires the existence of parties which dissipate our national energies." The corporative state is said to be the "juridical affirmation of the real man," as opposed to Marxist materialism. Democracy is to be scrapped, and in its place will come "the centralisation of power, wherever it may be necessary, in the person of the man who will impose himself and who will symbolise the spiritual unity of the factory, the district or the nation . . . ."

It will be a thoroughly masculine state, as is appropriate to Catholicism. The idea is gaining ground in the province despite the valiant fight of those who are striving for the women's franchise.

Needless to say, it will be an anti-semitic state. While M. Gouin is pointing out the civilising mission of his "Israel in Babylon," his cohorts will be proving the point by organising local pogroms. A writer in *L'Indépendance*, commenting on the evil state of present-day society, concludes, "C'est un malaise universel qui n'a qu'une source : le liberalisme juif."

This ideal state cannot, of course, be achieved just yet. Meanwhile the "Jeunesses Patriotes" intend to get what they can. All centralisation of power at Ottawa is to be fought. Provincial rights are to be extended rather than curtailed, because the more power Quebec can obtain the more easy it will be to make the transition to independence. Good French-Canadians are asked to take a solemn oath never to use the English language in their own province. All attempts to induce Canada to oppose Italy through the League of Nations must be prevented, since this will merely extend the nefarious influence of the British Empire. If France supports the League's efforts to help Abyssinia, it is only because France is governed by freemasons. The word loyalty is quite inaccurate to describe the relations between the French Canadians and the British Crown ; the true relationship is one of political expediency. Loyalty was shown in 1776, in 1812 and in 1867 only because it was a necessary condition of French survival, and assisted in the realisation of independence.

PLUS ÇA CHANGE

From the "Journal de Moscou"

Moscow never used to be a city of Cafés. It scarcely possessed any "pubs" where one could swallow a little glass to "clear the brain." Behind a door closed by an enormous weight, little dusty tables used to be grouped, with a barman in shirtsleeves presiding behind the counter.

How all that has changed! Moscow today has numbers of magnificent cafés, with sculptured ceilings, marble columns, decorated with crystal and porcelain vases.

Equally numerous are the restaurants and cafés surrounded by gardens which are illuminated on summer evenings to the brightness of daylight. Banquets, dinners and festivities are often given in them. Customers arrive luxuriously attired. The orchestra strikes up.

Dropping in at a café is becoming a daily habit. *Rendezvous* are made in cafés to discuss business, and there are already some which have their "speciality." You meet actors in one, engineers in another, painters and writers in a third. Then there is the sporting cafe, in which famous footballers, and captains of hockey teams discuss their players' form. Boxers drink peaceably.

It is a very varied public which frequents the cafés of Moscow. After the theatre members of the Academy can be met there, students, meteorologists, builders of new factories, famous doctors and metallurgical experts. There is not an empty table. Enticing armchairs, elegant tables, chromium plate and glass. The conductor raises his baton and there is a soft twanging of banjos. Tango dancing begins.

The streets of our cities are growing ever gayer, more brilliant, more animated by night. In the old days, Russian cities did not know this gay night-life in the streets. They were dumb and lifeless—deserted pavements, chained shopdoors, few passersby, and the clock on the tower striking the half-hours. All this inertia is a thing of the past. Animated crowds fill the streets, even in the most distant quarters of the cities, even in the little provincial towns.

ARBITER OF FASHION

More and more Continental young men are thinking of Mr. Anthony Eden as an example of gentlemenly manners and attire. The Eden hat has gone round the world.—*Tribuna, Bucharest.*

ARMIES FACE TO FACE

From "The Japan Times," Tokyo

THE FAR EAST—and the world at large, for that matter—have become so inured to constant clashes along the Manchoukuo-Outer Mongolia border and the Manchoukuo-Siberia boundary, invariably followed by a flurry of protests and counterprotests, that this seems almost the normal course of affairs. The incidents that have taken place recently at the spot where Manchoukuo, Outer Mongolia and Soviet Russia all corner are of far more serious nature than most of those which have gone before.

When the troops of two nations confront each other across a rather uncertain border line, tension and friction are bound to exist, and fortunate indeed will be the nations if more serious trouble does not arise. Self-control and a genuinely friendly feeling alone can prevent at least minor clashes, and unfortunately these are not to be found in the present situation. Just how fundamentally friendly is Manchoukuo toward the Soviet State, or is the U.S.S.R. toward this newest comer into the family of nations which is not as yet recognised diplomatically by any nation other than Japan?

It is possible to give full credit to the sincerity of Japan's desire to open the doors and tent flaps of the dwellers on the Gobi Desert to the benefits of Western civilisation coupled with Japanese culture, but it does not lessen the danger of a situation which is steadily becoming more dangerous in that region. In the event of a second Russo-Japanese war, a development which both Moscow and Tokyo are striving to avoid but which cannot safely be disregarded as a possibility, it is believed by most military observers that Japanese strategy would be threefold: To strike at Russia in the Maritime Province, northward across the Sungari River from Manchoukuo, and westward from that Empire along the North Manchuria-Trans-Siberian Railway. Russia, it is generally thought, would counter this offensive by an overland expedition through Outer Mongolia, with a supporting column from Russian Turkestan, in an attempt to take the Japanese-Manchoukuan position in the rear and so isolate their offensive force.

Viewed in this light, the attitude of Outer Mongolia becomes of supreme importance to the Japanese Army, as does the existence of a friendly regime, whether independent or autonomous, in North China. The conference between Mongols and Manchoukuans for the settlement of border skirmishes, for a more precise determination of the boundary line and for the establishment of regular channels of official communication proved abortive late last year. The Mongols were dilatory about accepting the invitation to the conference, proved still more dilatory in arriving on the scene, and after their arrival refused to acceed to the wishes—or demands—of the Hsinking Government and Japan's Kwantung Army, the military force kept in Manchoukuo by the Tokyo War Office and General Staff.

It is a curious fact that Soviet Russia, more than a decade ago, did in Outer Mongolia very much the same thing that Japan has been charged in many quarters with having begun in Manchuria in 1931. Outer Mongolia has enjoyed a *de facto* independence from the Chinese Government and a Soviet form of government, closely allied and subservient to Moscow, for many years past, yet no such outcry was raised at this action as the declaration of independence by Manchuria evoked throughout the world.

Both Hsinking and Tokyo are firmly convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that the hand of Moscow may be discerned behind the antagonistic attitude adopted by Ulanbator. It is not known how far the Soviet intends to carry its railway branch from the Trans-Siberian across the border to Ulanbator, which causes uneasiness. Moreover, Moscow plans to double-track the railway branching from the Trans-Siberian line at Novo-Sibirsk and running just west of the Mongolian border to connect with the Tashkent branch north of Afghanistan. From this Novo-Sibirsk-Tashkent line four branches are to be projected eastward, one into Outer Mongolia, and the remaining three to the border of Sinkiang and perhaps on into that nominally Chinese Province.

Japan, apprehensive not only for Manchoukuo but quite naturally for itself as well, is exerting every effort to build a modern version of a Chinese Wall between Manchoukuan and Soviet territory or territory under the influence of Moscow. It is far from Japan's desire, however, to occupy the vast stretches of land area and all feasible transportation routes, whether modern railways or ancient caravan trails, which this

would entail. Rather, it is hoped that a chain of autonomous or independent States, all friendly to Tokyo, should come into existence. Here lies the explanation of the encouraging attitude of the Japanese military toward the autonomous movement in North China, although Japanese business men may be actuated by different motives.

That Outer Mongolia must sooner or later come into intimate and official contact with Manchoukuo is the conviction of Japanese officialdom. More than once the spokesman of the Foreign Office here has pointed out that there are, roughly, five million Mongols in Eastern Asia today, of whom only about 760,000 live in Outer Mongolia. Two million are to be found in Manchoukuo according to him, and 1,240,000 more are in Inner Mongolia, Suiyuan and around Kalgan, the remaining million being in Sinkiang and Soviet territory. It is impossible, many high Japanese officials believe, for these Mongols to remain separated indefinitely. It is quite possible that, holding this to be an inevitable development of the future, the Tokyo Foreign Office would be quite willing to bide its time and let such a reunion take place naturally, but there are other less patient forces to be reckoned with and their position is not as clearly known.

The present Prime Minister, Mr. Koki Hirota, placed himself emphatically on record before the Diet a year ago, by stating that there would be no war while he was in office. He has been devoting his efforts to this end. He is anxious to bring about a more exact delimination of borders in North-eastern Asia and a reduction of armaments in the Far East, while at the same time impressing his views on quarters which are more combative in their outlook. He has a hard task indeed, for not only do armed clashes frequently hamper his efforts but there is sniping at them from abroad. Soviet officials and diplomatic representatives of some of the Western Powers are guilty of issuing statements which cannot but add fuel to the flames. Cases in point are the declaration recently in Moscow of the need of a large land army in order to defend both the eastern and western fronts against a possible German-Japanese anti-Soviet alliance. Rumours of that alliance, an obviously ridiculous arrangement for Japan to make, crop up with an unvarying regularity. The Soviet Ambassador to China talks freely of a Russo-Japanese war. The presence of Japanese troops on the mainland may be necessary to the advance of this Empire's influence there, and required only for national

defence. The strong Soviet forces in Eastern Siberia and Russian military operations of a sort in Outer Mongolia may also be purely defensive. Neither may constitute a threat to the peace of the Far East in itself, yet danger is always present when two strong armed forces are virtually face to face.

CHINA AT THE GATE OF DEATH
Appeal to the Japanese People

by HU SHIH

This article, by Hu Shih, Father of the Chinese Renaissance, is remarkable for having appeared, with some deletions by the Censor, both in the "Japan Review," Tokyo, and also later in the "Independent Critic" of Peiping, China, of which Hu Shih himself is the Editor-in-Chief.

MAY I sincerely and earnestly beseech the Japanese people never again to use the words, "Sino-Japanese Friendship." Every time during the past four years, when I hear these words coming from Japanese lips, they give me unspeakable pain.

The same pain I experience whenever a Japanese militarist talks of the "Kingly Way," whereas forsooth it is but the "Bully's Way." Clearly and definitely, it is the seeds of hate that we see, and yet they have been styled friendly relationship, neighbourly help, and suchlike euphemistic phrases. What, may I ask, has the state of affairs been in the past four years? Has it been friendly or inimical? Japanese militarists forced the Chinese Government to issue a "neighbour-pacifying" order, prohibiting any anti-Japanese utterances and activities. The order was effective enough. But government decrees can never regulate people's thoughts nor control their sentiments. The anti-Japanese feeling, deprived of adequate outlet, necessarily turned deeper and became all the more intense. It is but a case of human nature, pure and simple.

The second thing I venture to say is: Will the Japanese people guard themselves against the hate of a people whose population numbers four hundred million? Of late years, the Chinese Government

and the people have been compromising enough toward Japan. This, to be perfectly frank, is because Chinese leaders are well aware of the superiority of the Japanese military strength ; and by refraining from armed resistance, they may hope to devote themselves to the task of national reconstruction.

But observing the views of Japanese militarists, we begin to realise that their ambition is insatiable. Manchuria alone not being enough, Jehol must be included in the bargain ; and even this is insufficient : one cannot very well take Jehol without taking Charhar too. Thus, one after another, all the five provinces in North China are now facing the danger of being devoured. Japanese invasion has no limit. There is, however, a limit to Chinese patience. Offence after offence, hatred on hatred; resistance is bound to come. The example of the Abyssinians is the best thing to awaken the Chinese people ; it is the best means of inducing them to fresh shame and fresh excitement. " Can't we even follow the Abyssinians ? " is the cry one hears everywhere in China. Naturally, to follow the example of the Abyssinians is not as simple as it sounds. But let the Japanese people be warned ; if the four hundred million be driven to the wall, if the trial of patience ever come to an end, then the hour will arrive when with gnashing teeth China will fight to the very last man at any cost—even at the cost of all her industrial centres, her commercial centres, her cultural, her educational centres being reduced to an ash-heap by the bombardments of a twentieth century air force. A few years ago, " Ash-heap Diplomacy " was indeed the watchword of Japanese leaders. As the situation stands today, China at this very moment is about to be driven to the wall—that is, if the views of Japanese militarists can at all be taken to represent Japanese policy as a whole. For China, there is only one way, one narrow way ; it is, the Gate of Death for the animal at bay ; the " Ash-heap Policy " of China against the " Ash-heap Policy " of Japan.

Hence my second piece of advice : Japan must not overlook the animosity of the Chinese people. It is much better to be thinking of ways and means whereby to wipe out the existing enmity than to talk emptily of " Sino-Japanese Friendship."

It is well for Japan to realise that this enmity is not necessarily implanted any too deeply. After the Russo-Japanese war, hardly five years passed before Japan and Russia became allies. And during

that war the sympathy of the majority of the Chinese people was for Japan, though it was but ten years after the Sino-Japanese war. Prussia once defeated Austria, but it did not take long before the two countries were united again. Therefore, I maintain : victory is not necessarily the cause for animosity. What does cause animosity, and what is not permissible in the teachings of Bushido, is to attack the weak, to invade the unprepared.

Lastly, the Japanese people must cherish with care the greatness which their nation has achieved in the past and the promise she shows for the future. Their great achievement in sixty years is not only the glory of the Japanese people, but a miracle in the history of mankind. But this does not necessarily mean that a nation however great, is infallible.

The prospect of the Japanese Empire is a bright one. No nation can do her harm and bar the course of her progress—unless Japan herself chooses to bring about her own destruction. Three years ago, Arnold Toynbee aptly referred to the activities of the Japanese militarists as the hara-kiri of the Japanese nation. The words of this eminent English historian of international affairs may well be pondered over carefully by the Japanese.

Japan, I used to fancy, had a great future before her ; quite quietly and peacefully she could make herself the most respected nation in the Orient, with the unbroken lineage of her Imperial house with her industrious, thrifty, and patriotic people, her Bushidoistic tradition, her indefatigable spirit for learning, her widespread taste for the beautiful ; all these excellent traits she seems to possess in a degree that combines the virtues of the English and the Germans.

But in watching closely the tendency of Japanese politics in recent years, I cannot help feeling a deep concern for the people of Japan. First, the tendency towards a constitutional democracy has been stopped dead, and has become a sort of militaristic dictatorship. Secondly, a nation in which law and order have been known to exist has within a few years proved to be a country where the system is breaking down, so much so that the foreign observer is at a loss to know where exactly the civil power in Japan lies, and where the military. Thirdly, in the great family of nations, Japan has foes only, and no friends. And lastly, an international situation which has been created by military power can only be upheld by a still greater military power.

This demands unlimited expansion of armament. But an unlimited expansion of armaments intensifies international suspicion, which in turn sets the world off in a competition in arms, which may in all probability lead to a world war.

A vast area of newly occupied territory in hand, the animosity of four hundred million weighing heavily on her mind, a neighbour with a powerful army on the adjacent continent, two nations with the strongest navies on the high seas ; this is a situation that calls for the wisest political insight as well as the most delicate handling. With but the slightest touch of recklessness, explosion will result, bringing suicidal ruin to the whole nation.

It is because I do not believe that the downfall of Japan is a blessing to China or to the world in general, that I cannot but render this last word of advice to the Japanese people.

POISON FOR CHINA

From "The China Weekly Review," Shanghai

An American army officer once said that those who had appraised Japanese military strength had overlooked the opium and heroin trade as a potent arm of Imperial Japanese conquest on the Asiatic Continent. He said that the dope trade, conducted by a nondescript crowd of Japanese ronin and Korean adventurers, but nevertheless well organised, should be classed, along with the army, as a definite branch of the conquering and pacifying system. Opium and heroin perform two important functions : they are cash products which bring quick returns and high profits and their widespread use among the natives has a deadening effect, thus facilitating pacification of the people both preceding and following military conquest.

It is more than a coincidence that the dope trade has always followed the Imperial Army, particularly the Kwantung branch which controls Manchuria. League of Nations reports for years have told of the illicit manufacture of opium derivatives by Japanese and Korean interests within the Kwantung leased area of South Manchuria and it is now generally known that one of Japan's first official acts following the formation of the puppet state of Manchukuo was the creation of an opium monopoly which not only produces and sells opium but also manufactures derivatives. The same thing was done when the

Japanese took over the Island of Formosa from China following the Sino-Japanese war, the monopoly being created for the purpose of "facilitating suppression," but it is still in operation and its revenues have not materially decreased although some forty years have elapsed since the island became Japanese territory.

In describing the expansion of the Manchurian opium monopoly into North China there is no desire or intention to condone Chinese participation. The Chinese produced opium in Jehol, Suiyuan and Shansi Provinces long before Japan took over Manchuria and created the Manchukuo Opium Monopoly as a branch of Emperor Pu-Yi's puppet administration. Chinese interests also controlled the transport of opium by camel caravan from Turkestan through Mongolia to Peiping, the Turkish opium being of a much higher grade than that produced in Jehol. But while the Chinese raised poppies, produced opium and sold it, the trade was not until quite recently legalised under a monopoly system and on several occasions in the past had been suppressed entirely. China's attitude on the opium question has been somewhat similar to the attitude of the American people on the liquor issue although there probably never was a time when opium was sold openly all over the country.

It has remained for the Japanese to commercialise the narcotic trade, both opium and derivatives, and officially propagate the use of the drugs among the people generally, that is, among non-Japanese. The Japanese are careful to keep the drugs out of Japan, and strictly prohibit their use among the Japanese, although there recently have been indications of wholesale smuggling into Japan proper from Manchukuo.

THE WORLD'S BIGGEST PORTS

According to statistics prepared by *Hansa*, New York, is the largest port in the world, with a total of nearly twenty-eight million tons net. London comes next with six millions less, then Antwerp and Hamburg. Following these three European ports comes Shanghai.—*Journal de Genève.*

FOG VERSUS GANGSTERS

Fog is employed as the latest ally against gangsters. Special valves in the new building of the Chicago Agricultural Bank can fill the whole building with artificial fog. One move with the cashier's leg is enough to start the process which is completed within a few minutes. All doors close automatically and the police are alarmed.—*New York Times.*

LUCK OR ORIENTAL CUNNING? Britain's Way with Her Empire

by DR. ERNST WILHELM ESCHMANN

From the "Münchner Neueste Nachrichten," Munich

THE question whether English policy is one of pure good luck, in other words of fortuitous accident, or whether it is a policy based on a far-sightedness that can see centuries ahead, has been the constant pre-occupation of historians. Imposing arguments are marshalled in support of either view. The protagonists of the good luck theory point out that the expansion of the British Empire has almost always taken place against the will of the English people, and that none of the great Empire builders escaped persecution at the hands of his country-men. They cite Hastings and Clive, Raleigh and Drake in support of their contention. The supporters of the foresight theory, on the other hand, quote the many cases in which England occupied strategic points decades before the international situation ripened in her favour. Such instances are the occupation of the Bahrein Islands or the Secret Treaty with Siam in 1897 which made the building of a canal through the Isthmus of Kra dependent upon British approval.

As far as practical politics are concerned it is well to take both points of view into account. The English have been overwhelmed by lucky coincidences in their history; the very first happy accident is England's insular situation. England has always been able to exploit fortunate circumstances, and, what is more important, to create them. The Scriptures have been proved right as far as the saying goes that to them that have shall be given. When one possesses 60 per cent. of the world, it is easy to create, quite unintentionally, a plethora of accidents from which only the promising ones need be selected and exploited.

Present-day Empire policy, however, seems to justify the theory of farsightedness. The future of the Empire is no longer privately discussed by Englishmen; these days English politicians and writers do not hesitate to carry on their discussions within earshot of Europe.

The "strong silent man" has become the butt of English humour, caricaturing the ideal type of man who built the Empire. In the

make-up of that ideal type silence was particularly important. The Empire was built in silence, without theories of expansion, without any such theory of Imperialism as is typical of post-war imperialism. Silently too, that is without any examination of theoretical principles, the Empire was arranged in various stages of independence, as the particular requirements of Canada, South Africa, Australia, etc., demanded. All the time expansion went on. Silently, and unceasingly. A simulated disregard for the Empire was part of good form in English nineteenth century politics.

With the advent of Seeley's academic imperialism came a small change of attitude and for the first time English expansion and its necessity were explained in terms of a system. It is quite in keeping however, that this sort of theoretical imperialism was regarded as peculiarly un-English in many quarters, even giving rise to a counter movement, which merely served to conceal the activities of imperialism at the *fin de siècle*. In the policies of Cecil Rhodes and Joe Chamberlain a conscious empire-mentality can be discerned.

After the War the existence of an Empire was at last officially recognised. This recognition was followed by a remoulding of the colonial Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations, that is to say into a community of political organisms, enjoying equality with one another, which can only be described by the term "nations." This timely reorganisation forestalled the trend towards secession in Canada, Australia and South Africa, and it was carried through with something of oriental skill. In the process of reorganisation the question arose whether the dominions had the right to secede from the Empire. In a "continental" State such a claim would not only have been emphatically denied, but its mere mention would have been out of the question. Everything would have been done to secure unity and indivisibility by the most stringent and rigid obligations. But England did otherwise; she expressly conceded to the Dominions this right to leave the Empire whenever they should so desire. She followed the oriental course of offering no resistant to her partners which might stimulate their individualism or their aggressiveness. The very fact that this right of secession does exist removes any-temptation to make use of it.

Nor have things stopped with the right of secession. Minds have been incessantly occupied, since the end of the War with the future

of the Empire, with the question of its disintegration, its gradual metamorphosis, with the possibility of conquest by foreign powers. Is this only a method of self-tuition, in order to get used in time to the inevitable? Such a view is contradicted by the fact that whenever really important possessions are actually in danger discussion immediately ceases, and England's grip tightens silently. When the Indian crisis was at its height and all Europe, America and Japan breathlessly foretold the loss to the Empire of 323 million subjects, England instinctively switched over to a pooh-poohing of any Indian problem whatsoever. Now that the danger has passed, England once more discusses India's future.

These frank discussions of the future of the Empire are no sign of weakness. They do not arise from philosophical resignation: they are defensive means designed for the sustaining of the very Empire which is so sceptically discussed. It is again that oriental ju-jitsu trick which the English acquired from the East. The foreign observer who prophecies the breaking up of the Empire is never contradicted; in private, at any rate, its possibility is admitted by every Englishman. But where there is no contradiction, superfluous attention to Empire questions is avoided.

But English tactics go much further. It is not merely a question of forestalling an aggressive interest in the Empire on the part of other nations, by being the first to suggest all the arguments. It is rather a question of turning such curiosity into something of positive use. There are three possibilities in the future of the Empire; gradual disintegration into independent parts, gradual loss of territories to foreign powers, and the recruiting of these very same powers for the maintenance of English supremacy by merely changing the character of the Empire. These possibilities are seen much more clearly in England than is generally assumed abroad. The English mentality is not affected by any general theory of imminent and decisive conflict between the white and coloured races. The English realised that competition and conflict can be instigated between these coloured races by "civilising," that is, by "industrialising" them. This would always leave the decision, if not the supremacy, to a third power. Thus, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, England relies on the fact that neither Soviet Russia nor Japan are really interested in an independent India, which would be worse than anarchy. India

united and economically flourishing would no longer be the objective of Asiatic policy but its axis.

English tactics, in this instance entirely instinctive tactics, think fit to make psychological preparations even for the most remote possibilities. In the same manner as the right of secession which she conceded to the dominions merely bound them closer to England and to one another, by creating the illusion of self-determination, just so the prospect of the Empire thrown open to all nations will nip in the bud the predatory inclinations which they might otherwise have developed. England wishes to avoid a situation such as that in which the wayfarer finds himself in the forest at night, when he is forced to abandon to the pursuing wolves piece after piece of baggage, child after child, merely to delay the inevitable moment when he must feel their fangs himself. England's object is to rule out or postpone the possibility of a combination of powers which might throw itself upon the Empire the moment a favourable opportunity offered.

Gringoire, Paris

"What do I care? The Rhineland isn't on the route to India."

ENGLAND SAYS —

HONESTY ABOUT COLONIES

THE question of colonies is a vital one today. It provides the theme of an outspoken article in the *Fortnightly Review* by Mr. H. St. John Philby, the great authority on Arabia. He refers to the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare—then British Foreign Secretary—at Geneva on September 11, 1935, in which a suggestion was made for an international conference to consider the supply of the world's raw materials, and the possibility of a more reasonable distribution thereof. In so far as this might mean handing over British colonies or mandated territories, the public reaction to it in the British Empire has, says Mr. Philby, been exceedingly unfavourable.

> We can do in such matters exactly what we want to do and have plenty of precedents to go on—the recent transfer of the Juba territory to Italy for instance and a similar transfer of a considerable part of British Somaliland to Abyssinia forty years ago. On the other hand the anxiety of such areas not to pass from our control into the control of others does not argue any passionate desire on their part to remain under ours. There is a perfectly simple and feasible alternative to such exchanges, and there is already a marked and ever-increasing tendency in subject races and mandated areas to insist on the realisation of that alternative as soon as possible. The desire for independence is widespread and, theoretically, there could be no surer method of securing to all comers without distinction access to the sources of raw materials than by recognising the reasonableness of such a desire and facilitating its realisation. It is unfortunately the great Powers that stand in the way of such a solution. They argue speciously that such territories as we have in view are incapable of managing their own affairs without guidance. It is a convenient argument which, behind the scenes, means no more to the government producing it than that it would not be in a position to control the policy of such a country should need arise, and would not be able to close it to its own enemies in the event of war except by committing an act of war against it.

Mr. Philby says it is a fundamental error to suppose that the search for colonies is necessarily a search for new homes for overgrown families. The great Powers have in mind a different policy.

> A few families may go forth to try their luck in the world, content with the modest obscurity of farming, like the French settlers in Algeria. But the governments seek other things—wealth and power, the exploitation of the coloured man in agricultural areas to turn the wheels of commerce, the exploitation of the coloured man to dig and delve in the mines, the exploitation of the

coloured man to make roads and railways, harbours, bridges and great houses that the white man may carry the banner of civilisation to and fro through the forests and the deserts and exercise his sacred trust for the regeneration and education of the savage until the savage turns upon his masters demanding—what ? Not money or food or clothes but independence ! Base ingratitude ? Perhaps ! folly certainly, but the inevitable result of the white man's rule. The passion to rule (an end in itself) on one side comes into conflict with the passion not to be ruled (also an end in itself) on the other. The philosophy of empire collides with the philosophy of freedom. What is good for the individual is not necessarily good for the race.

The articles by Lord Lugard in *The Times* of January 13 and 14, 1936, " seem to be based largely on the thesis that the grievances of Italy and Germany either arise out of the errors of their ways, or are both unjustifiable and irremediable." Such an attitude, Mr. Philby believes, may provoke a return to war as an instrument of policy. It was with a view to discouraging unilateral attempts to secure satisfaction that Sir Samuel Hoare made his offer of a conference.

But what country could possibly have agreed to taking part in a conference on the lines suggested with the pre-knowledge that its results would be entirely, or almost entirely, negative, as indicated by *The Times* and Lord Lugard ? And surely no good purpose whatever could be served by asking Italy and Germany to realise that " Great Britain has nothing to be ashamed of in the way her colonies were acquired or how her trusteeship of the native races has been conducted . . . "

And now *The Times*, in referring to Lord Lugard's articles, suggests an " arrangement . . . to ensure to all industrial countries fair opportunities of access to the raw materials produced in colonial areas, including protectorates and mandated territories." That is suggested as a preferable alternative to the handing over of any part of the British colonies and, from our point of view, it is certainly the better way. But would Italy concur in this view, or Germany or others ? In any case the suggestion postulates a precedent agreement among the colonial Powers. Meanwhile we can ourselves play the game they want to play and acquire further colonial advantages for ourselves pending a common agreement to call a halt to colonial expansion. Would it not be more honest ourselves to take the initiative in refraining from creating new bars to the access of others to sources of raw material in addition to those that already exist, and in considering ways and means for reducing the existing ones to a minimum ?

The only alternative acceptable to the " have-nots " is a general redistribution of the territories of the " haves " and of such areas as can without difficulty be deprived of independent status. But, says, Mr. Philby, no British Government could live a minute on a declared policy of a substantial diminution of British colonial assets. The

present Government, he asserts, is adding to them. Arabia is potentially a rich country. It has an independent Arab government, exercising full sovereign rights over the greater part of the peninsula, subject to which there is freedom of trade and fair access for all comers to raw materials.

> It is strange therefore that Great Britain, professing its desire to facilitate the access of all not only to the advantages available in still independent territories but also in territories under her effective control, should actually be engaged, *vis-a-vis* Sa'udi Arabia and the Yaman : firstly, in limiting the natural tendency of both these countries to extend their influence over the hinterlands which geographically, racially and politically belong to them ; and, secondly, in securing by the simple argument of *force majeure* the exclusive right to control those hinterlands and to enjoy such resources as they may possess. It is unnecessary to go into further detail regarding this matter, but it can be stated, beyond any possibility of contradiction, that Great Britain, having duly acquired absolutely exclusive economic and political rights in and over the various Arab principalities that fringe the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, is now actually engaged in an effort, viewed askance by the other party to the negotiations, to extend the territorial limits of those principalities as far as possible into the interior of Arabia.

YOU CAN'T PICK AND CHOOSE

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, who was Foreign Secretary at the time of the signing of the Locarno Treaty, says in the April issue of *Headway* :

> Germany claims that the Treaty of Versailles was a dictated peace, and, therefore, less binding than the Treaty of Locarno. Do you think there would have been a less rigorous peace to the beaten party if Germany had won the war ? Have you looked at the terms imposed on Rumania when Germany was victorious ? Have you asked what would have been our fate today, what British colonies would be in our hands, what life we should have been living or what ransom we should have had to pay to live that life ?
>
> It was a " dictated peace." I know of no peace except the peace of exhaustion which has not been dictated. I think a great deal too much has been said about the so-called " dictated peace." But whatever may be said on that subject Locarno was not " a dictated peace." It was a treaty the proposals for which came from Germany. The particular provisions for the guarantee of the *status quo* in the West, for the observance of the conditions in the demilitarised zone were in the original German offer . . .
>
> How can you justify our action in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute unless it is a fixed policy ? If you are talking of collective security, if you are talking of the sanctity of law, if it is your purpose to substitute the rule of law for the rule of

force, you cannot pick and choose, you must act consistently. Whenever the occasion arises you must take the same attitude and follow the same course. If you choose otherwise you must give up the idea of the League of Nations gradually substituting the rule of law for the rule of force, a great international tribunal where in the face of all the world peace can be discussed, conciliation can be employed by neutral parties, and the aggressor—if there be an aggressor—may be deterred by the risk he will run in affronting the world, knowing the sanctions that will follow.

THE BRITISH ATTITUDE ON MANDATES

The position of the Government of this country has already been made clear by the Colonial Secretary in answer to a question, when he said : " His Majesty's Government have not considered and are not considering the handing over of any of the British Colonies or Territories held under mandate."

I cannot conceive that any Government would even discuss the question of the transfer of its own mandate quite irrespective of what was to happen to the mandates held by other countries. I would say in addition that we do recognise that we have definite obligations to the people who inhabit these territories, and that we would not think of surrendering those obligations or handing those territories over to any other Power, even for the sake of obtaining that general peaceful settlement which all of us so much desire unless we were satisfied that the interests of all sections of the populations inhabiting those territories were fully safeguarded.—MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN *in the House of Commons, April* 6.

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT LOCARNO?

The French weekly journal *Marianne* has sent a reporter round questioning people about what they know of Locarno. The answers are astounding. A baker who has Cabinet Ministers among his customers and whose sons are active in the *Croix de Few*, declared : " Locarno is a treaty which we made with Italy against Germany." A bus conductor knew that Locarno was " made " by Briand. An elegant lady declared over tea that Locarno was the name of an Italian journalist who had drawn up an important treaty, but who had recently died. A newspaper seller, who in her kiosk reads thousands of headlines a day, said : " Locarno—that's a treaty which was concluded in a place where Napoleon once had a big victory."—*Die Zeit, Prague.*

A COMING SHOCK

It is stated by some of those in touch with British opinion, that the British public is not pro-Hitler, but pro-Stresemann, and that the news of his death, when it reaches this country, will come as a grave shock to many.—*The Week, London.*

THAT GETS HOME

An English lecturer embarking on a tour of the United States, says Americans don't know how to use their leisure. Hence English lecturers.—*Detroit News, U.S.A.*

TRAVEL

HINTS FOR A HOLIDAY IN SPAIN

by JOHN MARKS

SPAIN, a country which has recently begun to attract the tourist in droves, has always been a land to attract—and delight—the discriminating traveller. The present-day visitor to Spain is therefore lucky, as, despite the rapidity of modern transport and all the efforts of travel agencies, it has remained a little off the beaten track, the least familiar, the most distinctive country in Europe, and he is offered all the up-to-date advantages (in particular, comfortable hotels and excellent roads) which his predecessors failed to find there, together with scenery, customs and characteristics unchanged—unspoiled—by time and progress. This very Spanish compromise between ancient and modern values—a pleasant state of affairs for the tourist—can hardly be expected to last forever. Now, this very moment (as the advertisements say) would seem to be the ideal time to visit Spain : now, not *mañana*. For although generations of travellers,* with their mournful but unfulfilled prophecies that the " old, traditional Spain " was fast disappearing, seem effectively to have proved that the *mañana* of standardisation is slow in coming, when it does, it will probably come overnight—following an old Spanish custom—and quick political changes seldom make for the comfort of the holiday-making stranger within a country's gates. As recently as April 3, *The Times'* Madrid correspondent expressed weighty fears that present widespread unrest in Spain might develop before very long into something far more serious ; and promptly, the very next day, H. E. the Spanish Ambassador denied the imminence or likelihood of any such explosion. It is therefore up to the prospective traveller to decide. A visit to Spain—now, as I suggest ; or later ?

Spain has rightly, if somewhat too often, been described as a land of contrasts, of the incongruous and the unexpected. Both for the political observer and for the simple sightseer this remarkable unorthodoxy has its interest. The unfamiliarity of a wild and lovely landscape and of an ancient, proud, original people is her greatest attraction—and it is this characteristic " strangeness " of the Peninsula which has resulted, on the one hand, in a general, hazy conception of Spain as a glamorous, Byronic stage-set and, on the other, in that well-known slander : ' Africa begins at the Pyrenees.' Perhaps it does ; but the phrase would express a greater percentage of truth if it were remembered that this is an Africa that has played, and still plays where culture is concerned, a glorious part in the history of civilisation ; an Africa equipped for the visitor with all modern improvements and comforts ; a Dark Continent steeped in a great tradition of achievement, and possessed of a vast heritage of art and individualism.

* From Richard Ford, who wrote his admirable *Gatherings from Spain* in 1843, to the latest rapid recorder of a " Peninsular gallop "—at the moment of going to press, Charles Graves.

Conducted tours of all kinds have been devised to make the visitor's sojourn in Spain both easy and inexpensive ; whether they succeed in making it pleasant is for the individual traveller to decide ; but there is no doubt that to a large extent they obviate one difficulty—the very real language problem. And here is an asset which the little book that for three and sixpence offers to show you how to " do " Spain on only fifty-seven times that sum—with sixpence over for luck—cannot hope to possess. Nowhere in the world will one find a more genuine hospitality than among the Spaniards—but it is seldom easy and usually impossible to appreciate what one does not fully understand. For real enjoyment of a holiday in Spain, or anywhere else, there are three essential requisites : time, leisure, and at least a smattering of the language—possessions by which the Spaniard himself rightly sets great store. There is no need to scamper through Spain. . . .

Spring and autumn are ideal for Spanish travel, April, May, September and October being the best months in which to visit any or all of " the Spains," as that diverse country used to be described in the decrees of His Most Catholic ex-Majesty. For a holiday during June, July or August, one would advise that popular paradise, Majorca, or either of the lesser Balearics (Minorca and Ibiza), the beautiful Catalan " Costa Brava " (Sitges, Tossa, S'agaró, San Feliú, etc.), or the northern seaside resorts and fishing-villages from San Sebastián to Santander (Zarauz, Zumaya, Deva, Castro Urdiales, etc.) Inland all the provincial capitals and most large towns hold one or two fairs at some time during the warmer eight months of the year, and then, if their historic monuments cannot be visited in quite such peace and calm as at other times, the foreigner is

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Among other blessings of a Spanish journey are the favourable rate of exchange—possibly the kindest in Europe—and the kilometric ticket, which greatly reduces the cost of extensive tours by train and enables the much maligned Spanish railway services to compete with that form of transport to which the country is peculiarly suited—by its magnificently varied scenery and roads, if not by uniformly bad petrol—the private car.

Information and assistance of every sort, in connection with the manifold delights and pitfalls of travel in so little known a country as Spain, should be sought from that admirable institution, the Patronato Nacional del Turismo (P.N.T.) at its head-offices in Madrid (Medinaceli 2), its Paris branch (12 Boulevard de la Madeleine), or its outposts in every town of any size in Spain itself. The P.N.T. services—tours, inns, brochures, information—must be warmly recommended.

SUMMER-CUM-WINTER IN SWEDEN

by CECIL DEERING

STOCKHOLM in May is about as far removed from wintry thoughts as a bathing suit is from an iceberg. When you watch the little steamers scurrying like white mice up and down the blue-green waters of the archipelago, their passengers at ease under awnings, when you see the fishermen lazily casting their great round nets into the Norrstrom and a shimmer of heat rising slowly from the roofs of the Royal Palace—then your skis and similar impedimenta begin to fold themselves up in your brain to rest there until the next winter.

It would not exactly be true to say that one was sorry. Nobody, surely, could look at an early summer Stockholm and wish in cold blood for the return of ice and snow.

Nevertheless, being human, we may heave a few sighs and the noble tower of the Swedish Capital's Town Hall *may* become blurred for a moment as we take our leave of winter sports. If you do the right thing, however, you may spare your tears. It is my pleasant duty to tell you and all whose hearts are divided between the joys of Summer and its chilly sister that, if you happen to be in Stockholm—or for that matter, in any other part of Sweden—in May, you can keep your skis unpacked. *Winter Sports are still going on.*

When all gasps of amazement and delight have subsided, we can go into details. Sweden is a remarkable country. It is remarkable in many pleasant ways ; its food, its people, its cleanliness, its hospitality, its shops and its architecture, are points which occur to me instantly. But perhaps in no way is it more remarkable than in its very thoughtful provision of winter and summer holidays running concurrently at each end of the same railway line.

Of course the explanation is simple enough. If you look up a map of Sweden you will see how elongated the country is. It starts down in the Baltic and stretches up with its head well inside the Arctic Circle.

It is in this latter place, naturally, that the Winter Sports are to be enjoyed up to early June. Every morning and evening, express restaurant and sleeping car trains leave Stockholm for Lapland. That these trains are comfortable, everyone who knows Sweden will be aware. That they also take you a long way for a little money may not be so well understood, but it has its advantages.

In thirty-six hours you step out into a new world. Lapland. Great snowy

mountain slopes simply crying to be stroked by skis. Lapps, in their picturesque and colourful clothes. Reindeer. The breath-taking reindeer-drawn sleigh, the "akja." And above all, the mysterious Midnight Sun, turning night into day, lengthening your hours of sport, turning you a beautiful bronze.

Lapland is not for everyone. Perhaps that hardly needs saying. The little hotel at Riksgransen can only house a limited number. That is why one has to get busy early with the arrangements.

And when one has had one's fill of Lapland—if such a thing be possible—or when the snow at last begins to wear thin (for it can be astonishingly hot in this part of the Arctic Circle) then you can entrain South for another slice of Summer holiday in Stockholm on your way home.

MOTORING "BOGEYS" ABROAD

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

(*The famous racing Motorist*)

THE decision to make yellow headlights compulsory in France, in order to reduce dazzle, need cause no inconvenience to motorists from this country, as the regulation will not apply to foreign cars. This is a very wise concession on the part of the French Government, since beyond question many British motorists are deterred from taking their cars abroad by the fear (with which I can heartily

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sympathise) of falling foul of the law in a country where they know very little of the language.

To some, the different rule of the road is a serious bogey. In countries like France or Germany where one universal rule applies, I have never found it difficult to remember the change. The strangeness of driving, as it were, on the wrong side of the road very quickly passes, while direction indicators overcome the signalling difficulty. It is only in countries like Austria, where you must keep to the left or right according to the province, that the rule of the road is liable to cause much trouble. Many British motorists seem to have the mistaken idea that " Keep to the Right " is the rule all over the Continent. In Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Sweden, however, you keep to the left, as in this country.

Although you may have to learn a few new habits like switching off your headlights in built-up areas, as in France, driving is not, on the whole, as difficult abroad as it is in this country, where we suffer from the most densely trafficked roads in the world. One of the few hazards I really fear abroad is the ubiquitous railway level-crossing. In Italy a few years ago, while H. C. Hamilton and I were practising after dark for the *Mille Miglia* Race, we crashed into the unlighted gates of a railway level-crossing, and had to manhandle the car off the rails with an express bearing down upon us. We got clear—but only just, and never again, I hope, shall I have to stand as close as I did on that occasion to an express engine thundering by at full speed.

It is common still to advise motorists contemplating a tour on the Continent to take with them great quantities of tools and spares. If your car will

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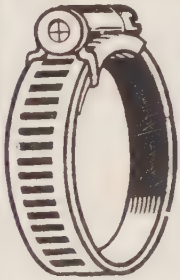

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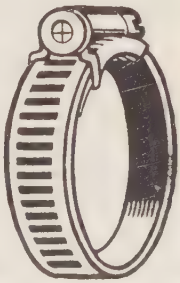

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complete without trouble some weeks of hard touring in this country, I see no obvious reason why it should not do the same abroad. Nevertheless, a foreign tour does call for rather more careful preparation beforehand, for two very good reasons—first, that a very simple repair job may cause you a lot of trouble if it has to be explained in Czech, and secondly, spare parts you can get easily enough in this country, may be unprocurable locally abroad. It is, therefore, desirable to have the car thoroughly overhauled before you start.

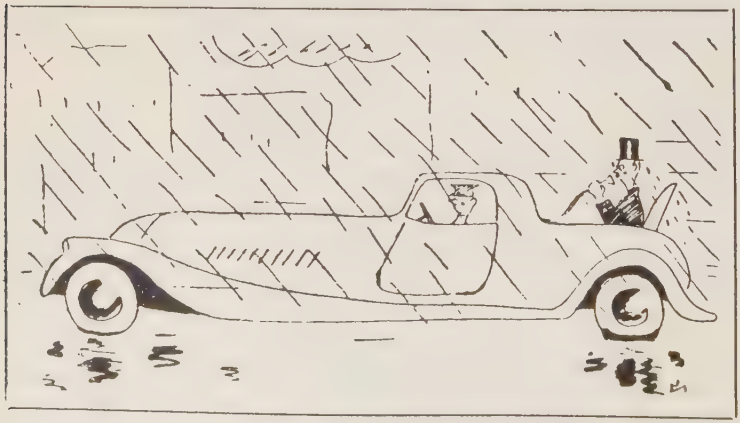
You need little or no extra equipment, but I do urge that what you have should be in first-class order—that the spare wheel, for instance, is really serviceable, and that the normal tool kit is complete. For those motoring in Spain—or in any of the Southern countries in summer time—there is one extra I would suggest, and that is an air-cleaner, assuming, of course, that the car is not already equipped with one. We have forgotten the dust nuisance in this country but it still exists in many parts of Europe.

BEAR RIGHT AHEAD

A sign frequently seen on English highways reads: " Bear right ahead." It has no reference to an animal. It is " English " for the American equivalent, " Right turn ahead." The word " bear " is used as a verb, in the sense of moving in a certain direction.—*China Weekly Review, Shanghai.*

PEPPING UP AFRICA

According to a recent news story, hail as large as coconuts fell in Africa. Nothing like this ever happened in Africa until American newspapers stationed correspondents over there.—*Grand Rapids Press, U.S.A.*



HOME, WILLIBALD !

" Humoristicke Listy," Prague

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

¶ *The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship.*

JAPAN'S BREAKNECK EXPANSION

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN. By Captain Malcolm Kennedy. *Nisbet.* 15*s.*

Reviewed by SIR FREDERICK WHYTE

CAPTAIN KENNEDY is known to the reading public as a competent writer on Japan. By years of service on special duty in that country as " language officer," followed by a wider experience of Japanese life when he represented one of the leading British news agencies, he equipped himself for his present task. And his *Military side of Japanese Life*, published in 1924, is recognised as one of the best books on the Japanese Army in the English language. The present volume comes at a moment when there are many perplexing and confusing questions to answer about Japan and the Far East, and Captain Kennedy may therefore congratulate himself on the timeliness of its appearance. The account which he gives of the forces at work in Japan—social, agrarian, military and dynastic—is well-conceived to explain, if not to excuse, the movement in the army which led to the assassinations in February ; and he lays no more than due emphasis on relation between the plight of the Japanese peasantry and the unrest in the army, which draws no many of its recruits from rural Japan. There is hardly any case in history more remarkable than that of modern Japan, where national policy is dictated and driven at breakneck speed by internal pressure, both social and economic. And Captain Kennedy pronounces a sound judgment when he says that there must be further explosions in the Far-East, if the Powers fail to offer an outlet in at least one direction for the expansive energies of Japanese people in the present vital stage of their development.

Equally sound is his opinion that war between Russia and Japan is not inevitable. He agrees with Mr. Owen Lattimore, however, that though neither Power may *want* war, their respective positions on the Siberian-Manchurian and the Siberian-Mongolian frontiers may make war difficult to avoid. He has some wise advice on British policy ; but he fails to appreciate, either the underlying motives of those who support the system of collective security, or the importance of Anglo-American relations in world affairs. There is indeed a marked contrast between his capacity as an interpreter of Japan, *per se*, and his incapacity to place the Japanese problem in its true relation to the total problem of world

politics. This seems to be due to his assumption that the attempt to establish a collective system must fail ; and one suspects that it is also due to his tendency to see the world as Japan sees it. It is all to the good that a British writer should thus put the Japanese view before us ; but the reader, who cannot fail to read this book with great interest, must be warned that some of its chapters are laden with a bias so heavy as to make them very misleading. This is especially true of Captain Kennedy's comments on China. He has allowed his eyes to be dazzled by the glory of the Rising Sun, and so has lost sight alike of the rights and the merits of the Chinese people. If he can but repair this radical fault, he may yet give us the book on the Far-East which we all want.

THE ETERNAL REVOLUTIONARIES

A SHORT HISTORY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By Dr. Kamil Krofta. *Williams & Norgate.* 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Reviewed by C. A. MACARTNEY

THIS little book contains much more than it promises, for it does not confine itself to the history of Czechoslovakia (which *pace* M. Masaryk's somewhat unguarded remarks in the foreword, only came into existence in 1918) but sketches the whole political history of its main constituent elements, the Czechs and the Slovaks, from earliest times. The author, Dr. Krofta, is one of the most distinguished of Czech historians, who at a later stage in his career entered diplomacy and has recently become his country's Foreign Minister. Its qualities and defects are characteristic of its origin. It is concise, scholarly, and discreet ; those looking for a short compendium of the main facts in the evolution of Czech political history, without wishing to burden their minds with overmuch detail, will find all the main facts here, fairly enough presented. On the other hand, it is unimaginative, almost anaemic, and fails equally to convey either the breathless excitement of the history of this eternally revolutionary people, or the economic and social factors underlying it.

The point of view is, of course, national. In his references to other countries and nationalities, Dr. Krofta is conspicuously temperate, but he tends, naturally enough, to dwell on those historical periods in which he can record some *national* action and policy. Thus he simply passes over the centuries in which the history of the Slovaks was an integral part of that of Hungary ; Slovak history ends for him with the destruction of " Great Moravia " in the tenth century and begins again with the national revival in the nineteenth.

The author's qualities are most apparent in that quarter of the book which deals with Czechoslovak history since 1918. This section reads much less like a book than like a Foreign Secretary's or Prime Minister's survey of his country's position. Czechoslovakia's relations with each country in turn are surveyed in faultlessly correct fashion and with a laudable absence of wounding expressions, even where relations have been strained ; the ordinary reader who has some experience in the translation of official expressions can, by applying this knowledge, get a very fair picture of the situation. In domestic affairs, the author's optimism is more misleading. The very existence of a Slovak problem is ignored ; the Germans of Czechoslovakia are represented as having abandoned their " former

negative policy," and "passed on to friendly co-operation with the Czechoslovaks" and even the Magyars are treading the same road. We fully echo Dr. Krofta's prayer and belief that the future of Czechoslovakia will "with God's blessing, be both happy and glorious," but a case is not proved by pretending that difficulties do not exist.

INFORMATIVE, EXHAUSTING, UNHELPFUL

GOVERNING PALESTINE. By J. M. Machover. *P. S. King.* 10*s.*

Reviewed by L. G. A. Cust.

This book, adroitly timed to appear a short while before Parliament debates the Constitutional issue in Palestine, attacks with the forensic thoroughness of the author's profession the proposals that the Colonial Office have recently published for the setting up of a Legislative Council.

The base iniquity, in the author's view, of these proposals, the callousness and the treachery the Mandatory has shown—not only in this instance—to the Jewish cause are pounded into the reader's head until he is dulled and bemused by the formidable mass of references, parallels and quotations.

As the author explains (see page 38 *et seq.*) there is a world of difference between responsible self-government under a Parliament, which is what the Arab leaders have from the beginning unsuccessfully (and rightly so) demanded, and a Legislative Council, hedged about with restrictions and safeguards, such as that which the Mandatory now has in view. Had the Mandatory acceded to the Arab demands, which would have imperilled the operation of the Mandate, then the protest of the Jews would have been unanswerable. And had their attack now been concentrated on the suggested composition of the Council, there would have been a weight of feeling on their side. For there is much to be said for the contention that the peculiar circumstances of the Palestine Mandate make the distribution of seats on a simple *per capita* basis quite inappropriate ; and the resentment of the Jews that, in their National Home, they should be allotted only three out of the twelve elective, and therefore in the popular eye most representative, seats, is perfectly understandable. But the Zionist opposition is directed against the principle of *any* form of popular representation, presumably until they have attained the majority in the country, ostensibly in the interests of communal harmony and efficient administration.

With full justice the Jews proclaim themselves as leaders in the van of democratic organisation ; it is thus curious how they do not hesitate to deny their Arab compatriots, despite professed cousinly sentiments, the most elementary right of citizenship, to be represented if you are taxed, even if it be at the cost of some administrative efficiency.

There is a school of thought among the Zionists, to which the author would appear to belong, that regards any measure taken by the Mandatory which is not entirely to its liking as a sinister plot, either in unholy compact with, or in abject surrender to, the Arabs, designed to whittle down the Zionist obligation and betray the trust imposed by the Mandate. That is the pervading spirit of this book. It seems a particularly ungracious attitude to adopt at this period of time, when, in the face of the bitterest opposition, it has been made possible for the Jewish population in Palestine to increase by over 200,000 in the last four years.

Three chapters are devoted to precedents and parallels in other dependencies of the Empire. It cannot be denied that administration by British Colonial Civil servants alone is simpler and probably more efficient. But it is the universal policy of British Imperialism to give subject peoples the share that they can rightly claim in the management of their affairs. Quoting from the bottom of page 92—but in another sense !—" It would surely be intolerable and unthinkable that Britain should apply one policy in Jerusalem and the reverse everywhere else."

The author suffers from the common failing of writers on the political issue in Palestine in that, while he condemns with passion, he makes no contribution towards a solution beyond leaving the position indefinitely as it stands at present ; and it is just that which the Mandatory Government, conscious of its obligations towards all the inhabitants, feels it cannot do. If half the energy and the ability, so markedly displayed in this book, could be directed towards searching for something that *could be done*, instead of merely denouncing what *should not be done*, then some progress might be hoped for.

Should the present proposals fall to the ground, is there any practical alternative ? Some see a possible evolution along the lines of a system of autonomous Cantons, under a Central Federal Government controlled by the Mandatory. Certainly many hold such a scheme to be now worthy of consideration.

This book should certainly be read by all students of the Palestine problem as an exposition of one, and that a very influential, school of thought. It will be found in equal measure informative, exhausting, and unhelpful.

BACKGROUND TO THE LEAGUE

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION. By R. Yorke Hedges, LL.D. *Pitman.* 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Reviewed by Aylmer Vallance.

Dr. Yorke Hedges has produced a concise and useful account of the structure and operations of the League in being. Intended primarily as an introduction to the study of international law, his book is essentially objective rather than critical. The vacillations of the States Members over the Manchukuo crisis and the slow and hesitant steps taken to impose sanctions in the case of Italy's war of aggression against Abyssinia might otherwise well have received fuller treatment. In his conclusions Dr. Hedges seems inclined to reach the somewhat pessimistic conclusion that no system of guarantees of collective security is workable in the absence of an armed force at the League's disposal ; though he is more optimistic than many students of affairs with regard to the potential influence which can be exercised by informed public opinion.

The chief value of the book lies in its presentation of the League as it exists, not as a novel experiment sprung Medusa-like from the brow of President Wilson, but as one step forward in a process of governing international relationships whose beginnings date back to the Abbé da Saint Pierre's famous *Projet*, published early in the eighteenth century after the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht. Dr. Hedges traces lucidly and informatively the development of the conception of international justice, and indicates fairly the " political " element which has throughout intruded itself into the application to sovereign States of rules of law. A useful and readable handbook.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

THE TENSION RELAXES

By " RAPIER "

INTERNATIONAL political tension had sufficiently relaxed by Easter to allow the domestic situation of the leading countries to resume its sway over markets. This was particularly the case in America where business seems to be moving ahead again after the check caused by the disastrous floods. Nearly all trade indices both wholesale and retail register substantial gains of from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. compared with a year ago. Steel production at 62 per cent. of capacity has reached the highest point for nearly six years and the production in the motor industry is back at the peak level of last December. At the same time there is still some nervousness over the tax programme now being considered by the House of Representatives, and over the inflationary tendencies of the Administration. The worst feature of the tax proposals is that to which I referred last month, for taxing undistributed profits. This measure would penalise the most conservatively financed businesses and it is hoped that the Senate will modify this economically unsound proposition before it becomes law.

Another tax proposal, which has caused anxiety abroad, is that to deduct at source 22½ per cent. on dividends paid to foreign holders of American securities. The full amount would only be payable on large incomes from American investments but smaller investors would have to make claims for refund. The prospect of further double taxation is not a pleasant one for hard-pressed European investors but America is of course entitled to impose such taxation if she wishes, albeit it might have unfavourable reactions upon the market for American securities.

There also seem to be widespread fears in America that the cost of social security legislation for pensions, unemployment insurance etc., will impose such a burden upon industry that profits will be severely affected. These fears seem, to an Englishman at any rate, unduly exaggerated when we consider what an integral part of our economic life the social services have become. But if we recall the prophecies of doom which were uttered when Lloyd George first introduced health insurance legislation we shall have more sympathy for and understanding of the American business man's reactions. In 1906 it was prophesied that in a few years grass would be growing in the streets of the City but in 1936 we know better where the pavement ends.

Despite any doubts or inconveniencies that may assail the prospective investor it is difficult to see where he can place his savings more profitably today than in American securities. Our own position in Britain is still strong and trade revival continues unabated but there appears more scope for capital appreciation in American securities than British at the stage of trade revival attained by the two countries. The following American securities can be recommended as offer-

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When we turn our attention to Europe the prospect is more clouded though there are rifts in the cloud. France has not yet surmounted its budgetary difficulties and though the franc, like the proverbial cat, seems to have at least nine lives it emerges from each succeeding crisis in a weaker condition. It is difficult to see how the French Treasury can escape from its dilemma without resorting to devaluation but having survived the recent international crisis it would not surprise me to see devaluation postponed until the autumn.

Statistics of Germany's economic position are limited in extent but those available do not give much confidence in the soundness of the methods by which domestic recovery has been attained. While industrial production has increased to over 103 per cent. of its 1928 total against only 54 per cent. in 1932, according to the Reich-Kredit-Gesellschaft statistics, agricultural production has declined in the same period, and wholesale prices have risen to 103·3 from 96·5 (1913 : 100). But the most disturbing feature of the recovery is the method of short term government borrowing by which it has been mainly financed. The total volume of money market credit shows a net increase of over 5 billion Rm., since the close of 1932. Such an expansion of short term debt, coupled with an unbalanced budget for which no figures are published, is a threat to the stability of the currency. So long as Dr. Schacht is in control he may be trusted to pursue orthodox methods to keep the situation in hand and he is believed to be advocating increased taxation at the moment. But there is always the danger that the radical wing of the Nazis may gain control and that unorthodox monetary experiments may be tried. Should the Hitler peace plans reach the stage of the proposed economic conference a way out might be found by slowing up rearmament, devaluing the currency, and consolidating debt by an external loan. But such a consummation seems a long way off.

The Effect of War and Sanctions

The financial position in Italy also appears precarious. It was recently revealed by Dr. Azzolini at the annual meeting of the Bank of Italy that in the last quarter of 1935 the Bank had lost £15,000,000 of gold making its total holding on December 31 last the equivalent of £48,700,000. Since that date it is known that a further £8,000,000 has been exported to Switzerland. There is also a steady drain to Paris but no figures are available since the last three months of

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1935, when £27,000,000 was exported. At a conservative guess another £20,000,000 may be presumed to have gone to Paris in the first quarter of 1936. If we add £15,000,000 to the disclosed reserves on account of wedding rings and trinkets voluntarily surrendered to the Government we reach an estimated figure of £35,000,000 gold remaining at the end of March. If the drain continues at the same rate as in the last quarter of 1935 it would appear that Italy's gold reserves will be exhausted in about six months. The Government has a further reserve in the holdings of mobile foreign credits which have been taken over by the State. These were estimated six months ago to be equivalent to about £30,000,000 but some of these have probably already been drawn upon and all are not easily realisable. It would appear that Italy's ability to continue purchases of raw materials abroad for the purpose of prosecuting the war must be rapidly diminishing. Further weakening of Italy's economic position is disclosed by the official figures issued by the League for the first four months of sanctions from November to February, 1935-36. In this period Italy's imports, expressed in gold dollars, fell to 45 millions from 68 millions in the same period of 1934-35, and exports fell to 64 millions from 77 millions. Net bullion exports for the same period totalled 62,773,000 gold dollars. All the figures show that the effect of sanctions is increasing, i.e., that the trade totals are dropping for most countries each month as orders for which payment had already been made are executed.

It is a relief to turn from these depressing prospects to two European countries where recovery is in the ascendant, namely, Belgium and Russia. These may appear strange bed-fellows to class together but we have the impeccable evidence

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of orthodox bankers that their recovery is in large measure due to the common cause of a planned economy based upon monetary reform. The Midland Bank *Review* for March-April traces the remarkable recovery of Belgium and, while admitting that it is in part due to external factors, maintains that " for the greater part it has to be attributed to the skilful execution of a well-ordered plan of reconstruction, with devaluation as the central point of a balanced whole."

In Lloyds Bank *Monthly Review* for April, Mr. R. J. Truptil, a well-known French banker resident in London, in one of the most interesting articles which have appeared for a long while on Russia, traces the economic development of that country since the revolution. He concludes that the return to sound money has been the most important factor in the success of the second Five Year Plan. From January 1, 1936, a new rate of exchange of three French francs to the rouble has been fixed, and reserves will be revalued on this basis. Furthermore the weight of the cumbersome bureaucracy has been reduced and efforts made to prevent falsification of accounts. The restoration of money to its proper functions has brought the increased efficiency that results from stable prices and flexible wages. The system is still socialistic, and although individual property can be acquired there can be no private ownership of the means of production. " But " concludes Mr. Truptil, " the system works ; the Soviet Union is becoming a leading factor in the world and it would be a profound mistake to ignore it."

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